TOLKAPPIAM
(PORULATIKARAM.)

The oldest rhetorical work in the world done into English for the first time, with exhaustive comments and illustrations.

— BY —

R. VASUDEVA SARMA, M. A., B. L.,
Senior Lecturer in Samskrit
— and —
Superintendant of Studies in Indian Languages, National College, Trichinopoly.
Member, "Comite Consultatif de Jurisprudence Indienne."
(Pondicherry Fr. India)
Author of "Beachside Song" "தமிழ் மொழி வளர்ச்சி"
"Wonderful Crest Jewel", Classical Sanskrit Literature" etc.

MURUGAVILAS JANANUKOOLA PRESS,
TRICHINOPOLY.

All Rights Reserved.] 1933. [Price As. 12.

ADVERTISEMENT.

TOLKAPPIAM written by Saint Trina—dhumagni, the disciple of Agastya, the first grammarian of the Tamils, is the oldest Tamil grammar extant in the world. It is divided into three chapters, Eluttu, Col and Porul, corresponding roughly to what we may classify as Orthography Etymology, and Rhetoric. The first two chapters are concerned with Tamil grammar and are not therefore of universal interest. The third however treats of the contents and the conventions obtaining in the oldest texts of tamil Literature which were available to that sage, and which unfortunately are lost to us for ever, and is interesting to us as affording an insight into the life, the aims and the aspirations of those ancient Tamils, whom we have the privelege of claiming to be our noble ancestors, of whose culture and civilization, there is not any other evidence documentary or epigraphical left to us. In its nine subdivisions, the Porul treats of the family life of the Tamils, their wars and their loves, stealthy union and wedded felicity, their fourfold objectives in life and their acheivements in the field of Law and Politics, Rhetoric and Metrics and Natural Science.

A vigorous attempt is herein made for the first time to portray vividly the life of the ancient Tamils, by translating into English, this wonderful mine of information. The nine *Iyals* or chapters of Porulatikaram are being translated faithfully in their aphoristic setting and comments in English are added, based partly on older authority and partly on the conclusions arrived at independantly by this author It is expected that the work will be completed in about 20 fasciculae of 48 pages with an elaborate Introduction and notes. The *Akattinai iyal* is being taken now on hand and the Introductary and notes portions will be published towards the last.

Being ourselves the publishers, we do not wish to expatiate either on the importance of the work or on the

தொல்காப்பியம்.

TOL-KAPPIYAM.

பொருளதிகாரம்.

CHAPTER ON OBJECTIVES.

INTRODUCTORY

THIS chapter is the third in the most ancient and authoritative of the Tamil Grammars available-*viz* Tolkappiam. The former two concerned themselves with Eluttu and Col, Orthography and Etymology, and having with their aid given us some insight into the forms of Tamil expressions and their significance, the author TRINADHUMAGNY proceeds to give us some account of the subject-matter of these manifold expressions which in main, in a particular setting constitute Literature. The subject-matter or significatory contents of these expressions would constitute the whole universe and this viewed from the standpoint of an oriental reflective analyst, would lend itself to the time-honoured *division into the four-fold objects of human existence*—. *viz.* virtue, wealth, pleasure and bliss ; so that this chapter, which within its purview seeks to treat of those subjects has come aptly to be rendered into a "Porulatikaram" or a "Chapter on Objectives."

These fourfold objects of human existence, again, from their modes of apperception, lend themselves but to a double classification. The Tamil seers felt that virtue, wealth and bliss when experienced by an individual was perceptible to people without, that the enjoyer

of these fruits was able to give expression to what he feels exactly, and so to convey an adequate idea of what he felt. They perceived also that "Love" was something elusive, that the enjoyer alone was able to feel it inwardly and that though thus perceived, his language failed him, when he attempted to recount what his experience was like. So, with their characteristic precision, they classified these objects into two divisions, one that was felt from within and the other which was perceptible from without, and so called them "AKAM" (inner) and "PURAM" (outer) life. We might however for convenience term them "Love" and "Life."

And this part which follows now busies itself with detailing the course of "Love" in a general manner.

அகத் திணை யியல்

The Nature of Love.

1 கைக்கிளை முதலாப் பெருந்திணை யிறுவாய்
முற்படக் கிளந்த வெழுதிணை யென்ப.

"Kaikkilai" as first and "Peruntinai" last
Primarily are reckoned seven Tinais, they say.

Kaikkilai first=*Kaikkilai* is one-sided unreciprocated Love; literally, vulgar undignified Love. It could also be interpreted as that kind of Love, which subsists among the lowly.

Peruntinai last=Literally, the great genus. *Perum* means "great" and *Tinai* means classification or "genus" *i.e.* the great variety of Love which has many sub-divisions. It could also be taken as the variety of Love, which prevails amongst the great.

Primarily are reckoned=This indicates that there is a secondary corresponding classification into seven Tinais or genera in the section on "Life" also.

Seven Tinais=Seven kinds of Love. Two have been mentioned above *viz.* the first and the last. The other five will be detailed later.

They say—*i.e.* the former grammarians. Nacchinarkkiniar would say that this refers to the sage "Agastya" the foremost and the first amongst Tamil Grammarians. Says he "They say,

refers to Agastya; learn also that these technical terms were fixed by Agastya."

To understand this section rightly, we have to remember the Samskritic classification of the eightfold marriage, into the Brahma, Prajapatya, Arsha, Daiva, Gandharva, Asura, Rakshasa and Paisaca forms. The Tamilian form of Love and marriage was mainly Gandharva. (cf. Tol. Porul. 92.)

This Gandharva form, being the favourite mode and the normal type of union amongst the Tamils, has been studied and developed exhaustively, and has come to be studied under five aspects and therefore goes under the name of *Aintinai* or five-fold love. Gandharva thus claiming for itself five out of the seven varieties of Tamilian Love, the other seven forms have been brought under the other two kinds *Kaikkilai* and *Peruntinai.*

Gandharva or Aintinai being the normal type, the other two should follow naturally as being abnormal types, at least according to the Tamilian reckoning, and they could admit of two varieties only as being either above or below the normal.

Below the normal is Kaikkilai and claims for its share, Asura, Rakshasa and Paisaca forms. In none of these three forms is to be found that mutuality of love, which obtains in the Gandharva form. Asura is a form of bride-purchase, in which the maiden's love is of no consequence. It is only the transference of the control or authority from the parent to the husband for a consideration. Rakshasa is forcible abduction and Paisaca is rape pure and simple. All these occur only among the lowly and the vulgar, in a society wherein an aesthetic

sense had not set its foot bringing in its train, nobler concepts of life and love, wherein brute force and sneaky advances only reigned and therefore have been appropriately brought under Kaikkilai. The great *Ilampuranar* thus explains its significance. "*Kai* occurs usually in the sense of inferiority. *Kilai* is relation. Thus, it means the relation subsisting between heroes and heroines devoid of greatness."

That above the normal is Peruntinai. And under this are brought Brahma, Prajapatya, Arsha and Daiva. These four forms of marriage occur only amongst the Brahmins, the great in the land, and thus perhaps also this came to be called the greater or superior love. It should also be noted, that this genus comprises four kinds of marriage and is on that account also the greater numerically. Ilampuranar supports the former explanation saying "Since Peruntinai occurs as being either greater or lower than the middle five Tinais which constitute mutual and equal love, since of the eight kinds of marriages, Brahma, Prajapatya, Arsha and Daiva come under this head, since all these four marriages occur among the superior class of people, and since these are counted to be superior usages in the land, it has been called the Peruntinai." Nacchinarkkiniar supports the latter argument saying "This came to be called Peruntinai, since this was the greatest of all Tinais. How? Since this embraces all alone, four kinds of marriage out of the eight varieties, whereas, Kaikkilai and the other five Tinais together constitute the other four." There is no mutuality as between the lovers in all these cases and therefore are they fitly brought under the "abnormal."

Thus the Tamilians recognised only three sorts of love and marriage, the normal, the superior and the inferior. The normal is detailed at large and has been described under five heads, and so has been styled the Aintinai. These along with the two abnormal types form the seven Tinais relating to Akam *i.e.* Love or subjective life.

This sevenfold classification of love or subjective life, suggested to the symmetry-loving Tamils, a similiar arrangement in Life *i e.* Objective life also into seven modes of outer life, and these are the Vetchi (*ixora coccinia*), Vanci (*hiptage madablata*), Ulignai (*oerna lanatar*), Tumbai (*phlomis indica*), Vakai (*mimosa flectuosa*), Kanci (*ulmus integrifolia*), and the Patan Tinais. Of all these more later.

2. அவற்றுள்,

நடுவ ணைந்திணை நடுவண தொழியப்
படுதிரை வையம் பாத்திய பண்பே.

Of them
The middle five Tinais, the middlemost one excepted,
Of the roaring ocean-clad earth, form the sundered nature.

Of them = Of the sevenfold Tinais or modes of love and marriage.

The middle five Tinais = The five tinais as different from Kaikkilai the first and Peruntinai the last of seven tinais. They are called respectively: Mullai, Kurinci, Palai, Marutam and Neydal, as will be shown later,

The middlemost one expected = The middlemost one is Palai; therefore the four others.

Of the roaring ocean-clad earth = Land and water together constitute the world. Water consists of seas and oceans and the land is made up of continents. Differentiating water, we have land.

Form the undered nature = Constitute the distinctive nature. *i.e.* the four Tinais respectively denote land, which is divided according to its characteristics into four kinds of land *viz.*, mountain-land, forest, plains and the seacoast.

This aphorism discloses to us, how of the five modes of love, four are dependant on and accord with, the nature of the land. To appreciate it fully, we have to remember the varying nature of the soil of the earth around us, which is divisible physically into forests, mountains, plains and the coast, each of which division favours a particular love-action. These divisions have been called by the Tamil seers, by the name of the most prominent flower of the region. The forestland wherein jasmine thrives so luxuriant has been accordingly styled the Mullai, or the jasmine. The mountainous region has been perhaps for a similar reason called the Kurinji, the plains Marutham, and the coastland the Neydal. The middlemost one which has been excepted in the aphorism, is the desertland, or more properly the dreary dread waste, the land of perils, and has been styled the Palai. The love-actions that accord with these regions are respectively wooing, secret union and all incidents connected therewith for Kurunji, separation for Palai,

patient waiting for Mullai, pining for the absent lover for Neydal, and love-quarrels and sulking for the Marutham. Readers will note how the Saint gives a classification of the whole world, thereby indicating that this work would govern literary usages, the world over. It does not profess to lay down the usages of the Tamil country alone, as Tamil scholars ordinarily assume.

3. முதல்கரு வுரிப்பொரு ளென்ற மூன்றே
நுவலுங் காலை முறைசிறந் தனவே
பாடலுட் பயின்றவை நாடுங் காலை.

The essential, the surrounding and fitting action, these three alone
When in poetry depicted, are superior successive
When the contents of songs are carefully scanned.

The essential = The elements essential for the happening of any occurrence *viz.* time and space.

The surrounding = This refers to the environment or the incidents of the land, the fauna and the flora and the life of the people therein.

Fitting action = That particular kind of love-action or warfare, which accords with the nature of the land and therefore is prominently to be perceived in the land.

These three alone = These are the three sub-divisions under which is to be considered any given piece of poetry.

When in poetry depicted = The author bases his observations on an analysis, which he has effected, of the contents of Tamil poetry, since grammar is based only on a substratum of current literature.

Are superior successive=Environment is superior to the essential, and action superior to the environment, and so serve to define the Tinai to be attributed to any song.

When conten's—scanned=The author declares how he has been careful to base his observations on usages honoured by the practice of the elder poets. By the expression songs, the author indicates how this classification holds good in the case of the chapter on "Life" also.

This aphorism effects a further division of the fourfold land. All incidents must happen necessarily conditioned by space and time. The land is necessary, since, we treat of incidents and things happening in this world. Time is also necessary, since any event that occurs, is bounded within its ever-rolling cycle. The land we have already seen is divided into four kinds. The unit of time is the year which similarly is divided into six seasons. All the seasons occur equally in all the divisions of space, but there is a particular season and time, in which, Nature in a particular setting, appears beautiful and sublime. The essential therefore refers to that particular division of the eternally rolling time-wheel, which most sets off the particular division of space, wherein the plot of any poem is depicted as occurring.

The land again is not something bare and bleak. It has its own characteristic fauna and flora, its own geological structure and its own geography. Its climate, natural resources and aspect, lend something of their own energy to the character of its denizens and their manners and modes of life similarly undergo an

imperceptible, but none the less decided change. The Tamilian seers have therefore bestowed serious and devout attention to considering these particulars also and they bring under this head, the surrounding, the food or the cultivated products of the land, its fauna, its trees, birds, the drum and the music characteristic of the land, the occupations, its special flowers, rivers and towns. These various particulars have their own influence in the shaping of men's traits and habits, and that the Tamils of the age of Tolkappiar and Agastya should have made such a careful analysis, is itself a tribute to the genius of the Tamil race.

Nor is it all Nature in its static mood, " idle as a painted ship upon a painted ocean." Activity is the life and the being of man, and his actions are as diverse and numerous, as the number of individuals inhabiting this earth. But as we have observed before, the geography of a country tends in a large measure to modify men's impulses and generally to give a distinct tone to all their actions. Thus, the incidents that occur in a particular clime always assume a uniform and distinct shape. So that, " fitting action " must refer to that action which is most appropriate to a given region, as being one which its geographical or natural position has imperceptibly, yet definitely, prescribed for it.

This classification refers to both " Love " and " Life " as the author has chosen cautiously to word it, as applying to all poetry generally. That love-actions are determined to a large extent and heightened by Nature all round, which serves as an excitant, is something admitted by Samskritic rhetoricians also. The Tamil seers go a little way further and postulate that Nature has its excitant or calming influence also on war and

"Life" generally other than "Love". The frowning cliffs abounding in dense forests on which is reared an ancient fortress; affords chances for the youthful lover to steal an embrace from his beloved and so fans up his passions, whilst the same environment must to a heroic soul serve to fire instinctively his ambition and lead him to covet and therefore to march against those virgin battlements.

These particulars will be determined and dwelt on later.

4. முதலெனப் படுவது நிலம்பொழு திரண்டின்
இயல்பென மொழிப வியல்புணர்ந் தோரே.

The essential is of both land and the time
The inherent nature, say the discerning seers.

The essential—i.e., the land and seasons appropriate.

Of both—nature = Is the nature of the region and the time in which a certain incident is depicted.

Say—seers = Those ancients who have truly observed and discerned the essential or true nature of both land and seasons.

This aphorism postulates how the essential is concerned with the depiction of the proper regions and the seasons that are appropriate. By "appropriate" we mean, the season when Nature appears most beautiful and sublime, in which it is able to inspire with its full influence the hearts of men. Since the author speaks of the inherent nature, it is possible to surmise that he was aware also of how artificially atmospheric and regional conditions could be altered. He thus allows room

for the happening and therefore of their depiction in poetry, of incidents that are not really peculiar or appropriate to the season and which occur freakishly consequent on the freakishness of men generally and nature also occasionally.

5. மாயோன் மேய காடுறை யுலகமும்
சேயோன் மேய மைவரை யுலகமும்
வேந்தன் மேய தீம்புன லுலகமும்
வருணன் மேய பெருமண லுலகமும்
முல்லை குறிஞ்சி மருதம் நெய்தலெனச்
சொல்லிய முறையாற் சொல்லவும் படுமே.

The forestabounding world, where darkhued
Vishnu abides,
The dark mountainworld, where the ruddy
Kumara sports,
The sweet-watered world, where the lordly Indra
stays,
And the widesanded world, which Varuna rules,
Mullai, Kurinji, Marutam and Neydal respectively,
As enumerated here; are also duly treated.

The forest-abounding—abides = Forestland forms one out of the four regions, into which earth is divided and its president deity is Lord Vishnu, the dark-hued Lord of protection.

The dark—sports = Similarly the mountainous region has for its patron deity, the redhued Subrahmanya.

The sweetwatered—stays = The well-watered plains abounding in fields which their streams help to fertilize and lands where the worship of Indra obtains.

The wildesanded—rules = Similarly Varuna wields his protective sway over and is prayed unto in the seacoast or littoral land where high sandy mounds are formed by the raging seas.

Mullai—respectively = These are the arbitrary names assigned to these regions by the ancient grammarians, who called the forestland Mullai, the mountainland Kurinji, the plains Marutham and the seacoast Neydal.

As—here = In the order of enumeration herein observed, *i e*, in the order of Mullai, Kurinji, Marutham and Neydal.

Are also treated = By poets in composing their works, this order is also observed. The "also" indicates; how some poets have chosen to observe a different order in their treatment.

The fourfold land and its varied nature are dealt with in this aphorism. There is the forestland first, affording an immense pasturage providentially designed for the rearing of cattle, an occupation which gave rise to the race of shepherds. The patron deity of these woods is the protective Lord of Worlds, God Vishnu who incarnated amongst them, was born a cowherd, benevolently protected them from tyrannical oppression, performed many miracles and was worshipped by them in return. This shepherd race is a tribe which made an honest living by a very innocent calling, that knew no harm to either man or beast and is it any wonder then, that such innocence and purity should be reflected in their happy domestic lives also? The proverbial felicity of a pastoral life is one of worldwide and age long

experience. From the perfume that such chaste households breathe, the wedded love of the proud chaste housewife, who patiently awaits her absent lover uncomplaining with a love-begotten faith in her lord came itself to be called the "jasmine," a flower which blossoming in the unespied corners of a bower in the midforest, sends forth its perfume far and wide and wooes the admiration of even a stranger and wins his unstinted praise, a flower indicative of all auspiciousness and prosperity. The loveaction in this region is patient waiting on the part of the chaste wife and the hastening of the lover from distant realms with a love-lent speed.

Next comes the mountainland, of which Kurinji, the most prominent flower therein, is the technical name. The land is a mountain fastness. Hardly any of the richer vegetation could grow there. Its wealth consists in the mountain forests, their timber and their wild animals. The elephant yielded its tusks, which found a ready sale in the distant Italian markets. "As when one stains *Indian Ivory* with crimson dye— such hues her maiden features showed" sings Virgil describing Lavinia. (Aenead XII. 67). But these beasts, to yield their flesh for food and their tusks for gold, had to be killed first and this live necessity trained the people here to be a gallant race of valiant hunters and hillmen, whilst the bare bleak rocks and the frowning crags around imparted some of their own ferocity to their character. And the God of such valiant heroes was naturally Muruga, the ever-youthful God of war, who chose his wife from among the women of this tribe and abode eternally in all mountain heights. The loveaction pertaining to this land is stealthy courting and illicit union, the stealthy guilty nature of their loves partaking of the lawlessness of the region around.

Next in order came the plains with their prosperous cities and towns, The many streams and reservoirs which the everbenevolent God of Showers, Indra kept flooded, kept the rich fields ever smiling with plenteous harvests. The men had simply to plough up and prepare their fields and turn up their flooding sluices unto them and the land blossomed with its wealth of grains. A fertile soil and plenteous showers reared a race of cultivators free from care and they lived like gods, cultivating the land and the fine arts alongside of each other The Muses came down from their heights and abode with them. And they adored the Lord of Gods, Indra who was also the Showerer of waters and kept constant festival. The loveaction appropriate to this clime is sulking on the part of the housewife, who is angered at the husband's having spent the previous night in the company of a courtezan or a Mistress—that inevitable product of all material prosperity and a maddeningly luxurious city-life.

The last and the least profitable of lands was the seacoast. It was a dreary waste of sandy mounds, that met the eye of the dweller here. No vegetable matter would take root in this soil and the coastman was thus inevitably driven to the sea. It was a precarious existence that fell to the lot of the poor fisherman, who despite the raging waves, the frightful storms and the muchdreaded sharks and whales, had daily to march ahead of the breakers and return home with his barge full of fish, which he bartered away for his necessities. It is here really that,

" Men must work and women must weep
And there's little to earn and many to keep
Though the harbour bar be moaning."

(Ch. Kingsley. *The Three-Fishers*)

But they kept up a brave face in spite of all these and celebrated on the sands on the days of the newmoon and the fullmoon, the worship of Varuna, The Lord of Oceans, the Indian Neptune, who they believed kept up the proper boundaries of land and ocean and so came in a mystic way to be the Lord of Justice also. That with the Rigvedic Aryans this same Varuna was the much-dreaded Lord of Truth, who with his noose, bound the sinful, might also be noted. There also he is the Lord of Justice and truth. The prevailing loveaction here is pining for the lover, who had hasted on his perilous quest braving the gales. No poet was ever truer than Ch. Kingsley, when he wrote describing the life of these poor fishermen, how,

"Men must work and women must weep
Though storms be sudden and waters deep
And the harbour bar be moaning."

(*The Three Fishers*)

We have thus in a rather cursory way described the fourfold regions of the earth, their primary inhabitants, and also their appropriate loveactions. But they are not watertight compartments each clinging steadily to its denizens, particular practices and modes. These climes often abut one upon the other and the denizen of one tract is not proscribed by any law from entering into the other. Similarly might the loveactions stray into stranger abodes. A hunter enriched by the gold, his forest tuskers had yielded, or a hillsman conspicuous for his valour, might be received at the court by the king, honoured and stationed near his person and so become transformed into a nobleman of the city. His wife in the city might await his return with patience, her tresses inlaid with Jasmine, whenever he goes abroad.

bound on the king's errand. Nor would the nature of the land prevent young fishermen and maids from wooing each other by the Gnalal-fragrant strand. The aphorism brings out only the main incidents of each region, the race and tribe which were reared within its bounds, the traits to be found in those races and the mode of love-action that was characteristic of and prevalent in those climes. Therefore does the author often appeal to the discerning seers, who knew the nature of things.

"As detailed here, are also treated" says Tolkappiar in the last line, referring to the arrangement of loveactions into those of Mullai, Kurinji, Marutam and Neydal in the order of their relative importance or superior virtuousness. It may be as Nacchinarkkiniar says, that chastity being the mainstay of all domestic virtues and the preserver of the hearth and the home has been mentioned first. Kurinji or courtship is the loveaction, which precedes all others in point of time and is the herald of marriage and wedded state and so is considered next. Marutam or the sulky state serves to bring out the high pride and the fidelity of the wife—she is angered most being wronged most, and the grievousness of the offence is in direct proportion to her own love—and so is placed next. Neydal is pining, grievous mourning after the lord who had graceless deserted her and as serving to depict a melancholy state of things where neither the maid nor her lover appears in a favourable light is suitably mentioned last.

But the author also affords us information, that there is no prescribed rule of precedence in the *tinai*-mention. Tolkappiar himself violates this order in his 14th aphorism, where he declares the love-actions in the

order of stealthy union, parting, patient waiting, pining, and sulking. The later poets have treated this Aintinai in no order in particular. The following is an analysis of their treatment.

AINKURUNURU	....	MAR	NEY	KUR	PAL	MUL
KALITTOKAI	....	PAL	KUR	MAR	MUL	NEY
AINTINAI 50	....	MUL	KUR	MAR	PAL	NEY
TINAIMALAI 150	....	KUR	NEY	PAL	MUL	MAR
TINAIMOLI 50	....	KUR	PAL	MUL	MAR	NEY
AINTINAI 70	....	KUR	MUL	PAL	MAR	NEY
KAINNILAI	....	KUR	PAL	MUL	MAR	NEY
IRAIYANAR	....	KUR	NEY	PAL	MUL	MAR
NARKAVIRAJA	....	KUR	PAL	MUL	MAR	NEY
VIRASOLIYAM	....	MUL	KUR	MAR	PAL	NEY
MARANALANKARAM		KUR	PAL	MUL	MAR	NEY
ILAKKANAVILAKKAM		KUR	PAL	MUL	MAR	NEY

Ahananuru, Kuruntokai, and Narrinai do not observe any order and have strung their verses indiscriminately.

We observed before how these natural divisions of land came to be named after the most prominent flowers of the region. But it is clear from the ancient texts that there was a definite language of flowers. We know how the Jasmine from its abode in the bower in the midforest, sent forth its arresting fragrance to the world without and so made its sweet mild influence felt, how on that analogy it came to signify the chaste life of the lady of the house who by her hospitality, devotion and piety shed her radiance far and wide and how therefore Jasmine came to signify chastity and the patient uncomplaining stay of the wife at home awaiting the arrival of her lord. The dark-blue Kurinji blooming on the hills and covering the entire hillslope visible from afar, came similarly to denote the guilty loves of the young

people, which though secret becomes a gossip in the village. Marutam with its oppressively strong scent denoted likewise the exuberance of the unbridled passions of the townsmen which begets the sulking and came later to denote the effect rather than the cause. Neydal stood for grieving, as in the term Neydarparai, which meant the funeral drum. Thus in,

> "Vaster than the earth, farther than heavens,
> Deeper than the unfathomed deep is my love
> Towards that lord of hills, where the busy bee
> Distills honey from flowers of the strong-boughed Kurinji"
> (Kuruntokai 3).

the ladylove, desirous of revealing to her maid how far her courting had advanced, refers to her lover as the lord of Kurinji hills, thereby indicating how they had enjoyed stolen pleasures. So too we have,

> "He wedded me of old in that dear long moonlit hour—
> The king of men, loving, embraced me then, and today
> The Jasmine on my curls, unsullied spreads its fragrance."
> (Kuruntokai 193.)

Jasmine denotes here wedded love and chastity.

6 (a). காரு மாலையு முல்லை.

Early winter and dusk are for Mullai.

Early winter = The season of occasional showers, constituting the months of Avani and Purattasi, two months from the middle of August to mid-October.

Dusk=The first four hours of the night.

Are for Mullai=Are the appropriate season and hours when Mullai presents its most fascinating nature.

This aphorism describes the appropriate season and hours of the day for the several *tinai* incidents. The year with the orientals is divided into six seasons *viz.*, winter, autumn, the season of early snows, the season of later snows, spring and summer, claiming each a period of two months, beginning with July. The day is similarly divided into six divisions of ten Indian hours, or four hours each.

Winter and dusk have been posited to be the most appropriate season and hour for Jasmine. This is the season when the minds of the youthful are drawn fondly towards thoughts of love, when the wandering merchant, the soldiers warring in a distant clime, and all sojourners abroad generally haste back to their domestic hearth and are reunited to their beloved ones. H. H. Wilson observes in the course of his comments on the Cloud Messenger of the great Kalidasa, " The commencement of the rainy season being peculiarly delightful in Hindusthan, from the contrast it affords to its immediately preceding sultry weather, and the refreshing sensations it excites, becomes to the lover and poet, the same source of love and tenderness as the season of spring is to the young and the poetical in Europe." It is the dusky evening in winter that is Mullai's proper hour and season. The atmosphere then is cool and most favourable for the march and as the lover hastes home, he espies all winged creation wooing their mates to their sides with plaintive yet melodious cries, the shepherd youth

returning with his cattle homeward, his head wreathed in Jasmine, which the blossoming bowers had yielded, and his heart feels strangely enthralled, drawn towards his expectant chaste wife.

It might also be noted that winter is pre-eminently the season and dusk the blooming hour for Jasmine.

"The Mullai buds have blossomed in the bower,
The grovelands have put on their festal winter robes,
And he does not come, who afore caused my bright jewels
To glide from their spots. The eventide is come to rob me of my all!"

(Kuruntokai 188.)

Here occur winter showers, evening, groveland, and Jasmine and all pertaining to the mullai region.

It might also be noted that Kalidasa, the supremely gifted Poet of Nature, puts his Meghaduta, which treats of the lovepangs of parted lovers, in the Mullai season. The first cloud heralding early winter is seen (Megh. I. 2); the wild Jasmine—Kutaja—has blossomed (Megh. I. 4) and the lover anxious to assuage the heart of his beloved sends the message.

6 (b). குறிஞ்சி,
கூதிர் யாம மென்மனார் புலவர்.

Kurinji has
Late winter and midnight, say the learned.

Kurinji has late winter = A period of two months beginning with mid-October and ending with mid-December is assigned for Kurinji, the period most favourable for wooing.

Midnight=Four hours during midnight beginning with 10 p. m. and ending with 2 a. m.

Say the learned=*i. e.* the former grammarians and poets.

This aphorism mentions the season and hour for stealthy wooing which is the love-action for Kurinji. The dread hour of mid-night and constant showers would render the union of lovers, a thing of terrible difficulty and also serve to heighten the pleasure of enjoyment, wherever it is had. Then is every beast in its lair, and every bird in its nest, resting itself locked up in the delightful embraces of its mate, and the few hours of stolen enjoyment which they are able to snatch from the jealous watch of guards and mothers at home, are the most exciting. Hence is this season and hour most appropriate for Kurinji.

cf. " It was not daytime. The rain had not ceased.

The lightning flashed, robbing even the ghosts of their sight.
And above all these, my mother would keep calling me ever,
Bearing in her arms, children wearing the tiger-claw amulet.
I knew not what confusion overcame my love, when
His expansive chest fragrant with the sandal of his hills,
He stood without, waiting like some huge elephant in the rains."

(Kuruntokai. 161.)

Here we have the late winter rains, midnight, and the jealous watch of the mother, all pertaining to Kurinji,

as the lover without, awaited his ladylove, keeping the appointed tryst.

It might perhaps be interesting in this connection to observe, how that master-poet Browning fixes up this season and hour for the tryst in his rather sketchy "Porphyria's Lover" Sings he.

"The rain set early in tonight,
The sullen wind was soon awake,
It tore the elmtops down for spite,
And did its worst to vex the lake;
I listened with heart fit to break,
When glided in Porphyria; straight
She shut the cold out and the storm.
* * *
So, she was come through wind and rain;
Be sure I looked up at her eyes
Happy and proud; at last I knew
Porphyria worshipped me"

Samskritists also prefer this season for their *abhisarika* dames. Vasantasena visits her lover Carudatta on a stormy day. Vatsyayana also prescribes this hour. (Kama Sutra I. 4. 25.)

7. பனிஎதிர் பருவமு முரித்தென மொழிப.

The season of early snows also accords they say.

The season of early snows=Two months from mid-December lasting till the middle of February, when the snow begins to fall early in the evening.

Also accords=i.e., with Kurinji.

This prescribes an additional season and an additional two months for Kurinji, though because of the

secondary mention, this is not so important or appropriate as the period formerly prescribed.

8. வைகறை விடியன் மருதம்.

Daybreak and morning are for Marutam.

Daybreak and morning = The last four hours of the night *i. e.* from 2 a. m. to 6 a. m. constitute daybreak. Morning is from 6 a. m. to 10 a. m. being the first four hours of the day.

This aphorism prescribes only the hour most suitable for Marutam action, which is "sulking". It is at the hour of early dawn, that the gay libertine returns homeward after having spent a gay festive night at the dwelling of some courtezan, listening to her songs and feasting on her charms. The lady in the house had spent a livelong night in her lonely couch and we can well imagine the effect of the appearance of her husband at the hour of daybreak laden with the sickening rich perfumes of the hireling wanton's dress. There is a love quarrel in which the lady reproaches her lord with his unforgivable incivility in thus leaving her alone. The husband either pleads innocence or prays for forgiveness and by various "*rapprochements*" is reconciled to her. The lady is not wholly unyielding. There is the child, the offspring of their affection, and the healer of all their mutual quarrels, or there are guests arriving who should be attended to, and the chaste lady unto whom hospitality is a paramount duty, then forgets her wrongs, but joins him in waiting on the guests.

Since infidelity of husbands to their wives could happen at all times, irrespective of seasons, the author has expressly avoided specifying any season as being appropriate for this variety of love-action.

8. (b) எற்பாடு

நெய்த லாதன் மெய்பெறத் தோன்றும்.

Evening hour

For Neydal action, as most fitting, should also follow.

Evening = The last four hours of the day between 2 p. m. and 6 p m.

Evening hour is the most distressing to parted lovers and so constitutes the hour of moaning. The day is done and the hotrayed sun sinks into the west shorn of all his heat. All winged creation then ceases its quest and hastes to its nest to be united to its mates. The cool shady bowers by the beachside, look appetizing to the youthful lovers and as the white round moon rolls along in the canopy of heavens, the hearts of the young are strangely afflicted and become filled with tender thoughts of love.

But that is the hour at which the fishermen who live on the coast, leave their homesteads, and betake themselves to the rough seas bent on their perilous avocation. And what could the poor lady left behind do, but sit down and wail through the livelong hour ; for here as the poet has it.

" There's nae luck about the house,
When our gudeman's awa' ".

(*W. J. Mickle.*)

9. நடுவுநிலைத் திணையே நண்பகல் வேனிலொடு
முடிவுநிலை மருங்கின் முன்னிய நெறித்தே.

The middlemost variety, hath midday with summer,

In regions where parting in full obtains, as people might wish.

The middlemost variety=The Palai whose loveaction is parting.

Hath midday with summer=The middlemost and the hottest part of the day, between 10 a. m. and 2 p. m. Early summer and late summer, spreading themselves over a period of four months from mid-April to mid-August are seasons most appropriate for this loveaction.

In regions where parting in full obtains=In those lands where parting is wholly possible *i. e.*, the lands of Kurinji and Mullai, since a lengthy separation does not occur in either Neydal or Marutam.

As people might wish=According as the poet might conceive of it in his imagination.

The middlemost of the five loveactions is "parting" and such a parting occurs only in summer, when the roads are clear and dry for travellers to venture forth to distant lands. The trader then starts for foreign climes laden with his merchandise. The soldiers then are summoned to march against the foeman and there is busy fight going on. Minor chieftains and princes then hurry forth to compass the commands of their overlords. The state officers are busy treating with the enemy. Then are lovers parted and adieus bidden. Fond lips close in possibly final kisses and everyone marches forth grim at

the call of duty, bracing up his heart, breathing words of comfort, pledging eternal love and assuring his beloved one of his speedy return. All this occurs in the land of Mullai.

Possibly there are amongst these, parted lovers, maidens who had but lately gained an insight into the mysteries of love and who, having been wooed had not been wedded. To them such parting comes in with a double keenness. The dread waste to whose wayside hardships her lover was resigning himself might pain her sorely, to which her own dread of a parting from a newly-found pleasure and happiness might lend some sharpness. But go he must. Either to earn wealth, which is so necessary for purchasing the consent of the bride's parents or to quiet the clattering tongues of the chattering gossips of the village who are in possession of the secret doings of the stealthy lovers. Terrible is the parting. Heartrending are her entreaties, bidding her lover desist from his resolve. Equally vehement are his consoling speeches promising his beloved speedily to return. The waiting maid who is also in the secret, in vain unites her voice to that of her mistress. He replies to them all calmly adducing argument against argument and tears himself away from their company. All this occurs in the land of the Kurinji.

Similarly, lengthy partings do not occur either in Marutam or in Neydal. Their separationsare of a short duration limited to a twelve hours period, lasting from about the evening to the last quarter of the night and they occur throughout the year. The frequency of such partings tends to rob them of their extreme poignancy and as such these partings are not so terrible to the

imagination as that which occurs in Palai. But let us confine ourselves to Palai.

The lady that is left behind in both Kurinji and Mullai, almost sinks under the burden of grief, which the parting engenders. Her feminine imagination clothes the lands to which her lover is sped with all kinds of real and fancied dangers, with the wolf, the tiger, and the lion, with the cruel robbers to whom the slaying of straggling travellers is but a pastime, where the trees are parched up and where the fiery sun rains fire. It is scorching summer and it is midday, when not a single beast doth prowl about, nor doth any wind murmur. Her wail which is ceaseless, the words of consolation addressed to her by the maid, her replies thereto, their joint and several plaints to the lover and his replies, all constitute the songs relating to Palai.

10. பின்பனி தானு முரித்தென மொழிப.

Season of late snows also accords they say.

Season of late snows = A period of two months between mid-February and mid-April.

This aphorism prescribes an additional two months for the season of parting, though of course it is not as appropriate as the months aforementioned. And we may take it also that there is no distinction as to the hour, since no hour is specified.

11. இருவகைப் பிரிவு நிலைபெறத் தோன்றலும்
உரிய தாகு மென்மனார் புலவர்

The twofold parting, suitably happening,
Accords with this, say the wise.

Twofold parting=There are two different interpretations offered of this twofold parting. Ilampuranar would have it that it refers to the parting of the lover from the lady and the elopement of the youthful lovers, the parting in this case being from the bride's people. Nacchinarkkiniar would have it that it refers to the parting of the lover, when he undertakes a journey either by land or by sea.

Suitably happening=When the lover is one to whom such journey by land or sea, is sanctioned by the scriptures.

Accords with this=Is suitably described as happening in this season.

Any parting in any region, by any means, in any manner whatsoever, constitutes the main loveaction of Palai and the two varied descriptions of the twofold partings, serve to illustrate to us the varied kinds of parting. The author later on is going to restrict sea-voyage to the males alone, so that it stands to reason that the ladies who stay behind should indulge in much wailing, which being caused by a parting, which involves a lengthy stay abroad, should partake of the character of Palai, and so be differentiated from Neydal. Nacchinarkkiniar quotes from Akananuru, verse 255, in which a lady bewails her lover who had sailed away to a foreign clime and inquires of her maid, if she should not send a messenger after him, which is taken to be Palai by the compiler of that anthology, who naively remarks, " This song is Palai, because of its action."

We must remember with regard to this verse, that sea-voyage is not permitted to the twice-borns. Brahmins,

Kshattriyas, and Vaisyas could not undertake foreign travel, since it was apt to disturb the proper tending of the domestic fires. Though this was strictly enforced in the case of the Brahmins and the Kshattriyas, Vaisyas were given the option of appointing a priest or some other qualified deputy, for its proper maintenance and then undertaking the voyage.

12. திணைமயக் குறுதலுங் கடிநிலை யிலவே
நிலனொருங்கு மயங்குத லில்லென மொழிப
புலனன் குணர்ந்த டலமையோரே.

Confusion of Tinais, is no cause for censure

Land always is not confused, say they,

That are with usages, well conversant.

Confusion of Tinais=A confusion in respect of Time, being the essential—other than land, which cannot be confused, as is expressly stated in the second line, is permitted. But, according to Nacchinarkkiniar this would apply equally to all the characteristics that could be predicted of a Tinai, excepting the land. According to him there could be a confusion of time, environments and also of appropriate loveactions. Ilampuranar would take the aphorism to refer to only the essentials.

Is no cause for censure=*i.e*, Is allowed.

Land—confused= There could not be a contusion of the soil, since a mountain could not become a plain or a forest or a seacoast.

Say—conversant=Again the author bases his observations on the consensus of opinion of scholars, who know the poetic usage.

This aphorism provides for a confusion of Tinais, which is noticed to occur in poetry. Tinai comprehends as we know, the essentials, environments and the appropriate love-actions, and confusion denotes the occurrence together, side by side of two dissimilar and inappropriate things. We know how in former aphorisms particular seasons and hours, environments and actions have been settled to be the appropriate ones for a given land. Thus Kurinji comprehends mountainlands, where the midnight hour of late winter serves to excite the passions of lovers, who steal to each other's arms of nights. There along mountainslopes wander the tiger, the leopard, the elephant and other wild beasts, whilst in the bowers, there lie the parrots and the peacocks warbling sweet to their mates and wooing them to their sides. There the Kandal (*gloriosa superba)*, the Kuvalai (*blue nelumbo*), and the Venkai (*kino*) bloom and fill the woods with their maddening influence. But all these excepting the face of the land, which human agency cannot so easily change and the loveaction which cannot also admit of confusion, can exist alongside of the Tinai features of other Tinais. Thus, though Nature had ordained a particular fauna and flora to a particular region, and so has prescribed to the parrot a mountain clime, human agency can yet transport it to the city and make it dwell alongside of the other birds of the Marutam land. Similarly might the Kurinji, the Kuvalai and other flowers be reared in a seaport town and made to blossom alongside of flowers peculiar to Neydal. Similiarly a dewdripping dusky evening might be des-

cribed confusing the Kurinji season with the Mullai hour or a summer midnight, confusing the Palai season with the Kurinji hour. Similiarly might wooing occur on the Neydal strand. (As in Kuruntokai verse. 245.)

Thus though two environments and a season with an illmatched hour might occur together, there could be no confusion in land, the nonconfusion of lands being affirmed by the second line of the aphorism. That land could not be both mountainous and sandy or that it could not be a mountainous plain is patent. That two love-actions cannot similarly coexist, is being postulated by the next section.

13. உரிப்பொரு ளல்லன மயங்கவும் பெறுமே.

Save "appropriate actions" all else could also confuse.

Save—actions = This indicates how appropriate actions are not subject to confusion.

All else = By this Ilampuranar would take it that environment and the essential of time alone are meant. But Nacchinarkkiniar would take it to refer to the other kinds of weddings and loveactions, other than the five kinds of love-actions, described under Aintinai and would bring Kaikkilai and Peruntinai under this head.

Would also confuse = This indicates how nonconfusion would be better, if that were possible.

In interpreting the previous aphorism and this Nacchinarkkiniar has adopted a bolder and a more liberal interpretation. These two sutras treat of confusions. By the former, all else save land and loveaction,

he said, was subject to confusion. By this, he brings in other lovemodes also under the scope of confusion. Ilampuranar on the other hand would take it that the former had reference, only to the essential of time, and that this referred to "environment" omitted under the other, land and love-action being exempt from such coexistence or confusion. Of these two interpretations Ilampuranar's explanation is more logical, whereas Nacchinarkkiniar's is more useful and practical. For, we perceive that Asura marriages are treated of, as occurring in Mullai regions, (Kali-103 & 104) and the Madal Kaikkilai (Kali 139) put in, in Neydal. Similarly do we have the mating of the dwarf and the hunchbacked dame brought under Marutam and the Rakshasa form of Kaikkilai (Kali-112) in Mullai. And all these have to be brought under some aphorism or other of TOLKAPPIAM and this section according to Nacchinarkkiniar serves that necessity.

14. புணர்தல் பிரித லிருத்த லிரங்கல்
ஊட லவற்றி னிமித்த மென்றிவை
தேருங் காலைத் திணைக்குரிப் பொருளே.

Union, Parting, Patient stay, Wailing,
And Sulking and their incidents, these
When analysed are "appropriate actions"

Union=Union secretly effected as between lovers and other incidents connected therewith are the appropriate loveactions for the land of Kurinji.

Parting=Parting and the incidents connected thereto are the lovemodes for the Palai.

Patient stay=The patient stay of the chaste house wife at home and causes contributory thereto and other incidents are attributed to the Mullai region.

Wailing=Bewailing the absence of the lover, causes therefor and other attendant circumstances occur on the seaside.

Sulking=Lovequarrels, wherein the lady having heard of or otherwise scented the misdemeanour of her lord, refuses to receive him or otherwise reproaches him and other such circumstances are held to occur in the Marutam.

And their incidents=Causes contributory thereto, the actual occurrence, results therefrom, are all included here.

When analysed=When the contents of all poetry are carefully considered, for the author frames his rules, basing his conclusions on the strength of usages found there.

Are appropriate actions=Are the naturally suitable loveactions or lovemodes, being something induced or dictated as it were by Nature herself.

The fivefold land has been already detailed, and in this section is described the mode of love or fitting or appropriate loveaction obtaining in these climes. And in this detailing of lovemodes, the author adopts a different order of enumeration and places secret union first, as that is the source and the prime ingredient as it were, in, and preceding all lovemodes. This consti-

tutes Kurinji. Parting comes next in the order of time; since united lovers must necessarily part, and this is Palai. This is placed second on the list, as all the immensity of the love experienced by the lady is here revealed. There is a deep heartfelt passion breathing through all the songs assigned to this genus, such as is found nowhere else. This might also perhaps in a way account for the placing of the Palai songs in Kalittokai first. After parting, there is the lady staying alone at home awaiting faithfully the return of her lord, and this is Mullai which comes in next. This is given a third position since there is a sober reasoning asserting its influence over the lady which makes her calmly endure the pangs of separation. The lady here is less exhuberant and weighed in the scale of sentiment and passion, comes only third. There is then a short spell of domestic felicity, in the course of which, owing to various influences at work, the husband becomes guilty of disloyalty to his nuptial couch and there ensues a lovequarrel which is styled "sulking". This loveaction which occurs in the land of Marutam is not anything very flattering to the prestige of the lady and so has been accorded a position lower than that assigned to Mullai. The sulking might be won over by sweet words of reconciliation and the quarrel patched up. But it might also happen that the lady who had secretly surrendered herself to the lover has been gracelessly abandoned by her lover, leaving her to her lamentations. This would beget the wailing of the Neydal and this being the least creditable of the lovemodes, to both the lovers is placed last. Thus is the order here observed to be explained in the light of the intensity of the passion and the buoyancy displayed by the lady and her attendants and the lover also in certain cases.

Though the union of lovers could occur in all regions, it is the first stealthy embrace that affords the most exquisite and the supremely delicious pleasure and this explains its treatment first. It comprehends a mutual stealthy embrace, the meeting of lovers, the union effected through the efforts of friends and attendant maids and the rendezvouz by day and night. The preferring of one's suit to the lady through the maid, the reply of the maid, the maid's offer of help and her refusals would all constitute its incidents.

Separation again includes all distant journeys undertaken by the lover or the husband, for purposes of learning, embassy, fighting the enemy and other travel incidental to war and peace and for the acquisition of wealth. The resolve of the lady and the varied counsel which she holds with her maid, complaining of the enemical relatives, the untoward season, and the dread defiles along mountains, are all incidental to Palai. The words of comfort which the maid addresses to her lady, when the lover is sped, also constitute Palai.

Then also, the confidence with which a lady affirms that her lover would not part, even when a projected journey is reported to her by the maid, and her consoling herself saying that it was not yet the season to return even when parted and so confidently awaiting the arrival of the season and her lord and her complaining when the season alone had come, the words of reassurance uttered by the lady and the words of the lover at the approach of the wintry season as he stays in his camp, are all its incidents. Then the moaning indulged in by the lady, at the sight of the sea and the channel and her gracless lover, who had unheeding deserted her side, at the approach of the dread even hour, as she sees the birds

singing in pairs, conform to wailing. The cruel departure of the lover and the seaside are all excitants.

Sulking is lovequarrel. Causes are the appearance of the bard, the courtezan and the like. Thus the Kuruntokai verse,

" Her breasts have assumed the shapeliness of a bud.
On her crown, the curls have fallen to a side in their massiveness.
The close-set teeth too have ranged themselves after their fall.
A golden gleam hath spread over her form. Now is she
For aught I know, a fit subject for the inevitable yet delicate
Malady. She knows it not herself, though I know. This best of girls
The offspring of a noble race, I know not for whom she is destined."
(Kuruntokai 336.)

where the lover indulges in a monologue praising his ladylove is incident to Kurinji, as being conducive to union.

" What is my mother unto thine ?
What comrades were they, my father and thine?
How came I to know thee at all?
Like showers that pour on the thirsting soil,
Our loving hearts of themselves have united,"
(Kuruntckai 40.)

Here the lover describes how he came to be united to his ladylove and as such is a good Kurinji song.

The parting of the palai is best illustrated by verses such as,

" If scorning kindness, scorning love, he that deserting his mate
After sordid wealth hasteth, be counted wise and strong,
Be he strong, be he wise, and we who brave not,
Women we are maid! Be we weak! Be we fools!
(Kuruntokai 20.)

where the ladylove declaims against the ungentle departure of her lover, and,

" Being so loving, he might yet favour us,
And by the forest glades he would see
The lord of tusks breaking the Yam-tree
To allay the thirst of his beloved mate."
(Kuruntokai 37.)

where the maid comforts her mistress, saying that the lover perceiving the lovegentle acts of the elephant, might be reminded of his lady and so return. The former represents the grief of the ladylove whilst the latter shows how the maid comforts her.

In the verse,

" Though with bunches of blossoms, appetising to the honeybees
The creepers of the forest show the newbudding Konrai
That beautifully ape the golden jewels in the tresses of girls
And declare to me that it is the season of showers
I will not beleive it. He is not capable of such deceit."
(Kuruntokai 21.)

the lady is so full of implicit faith in her husband s words, that she is not prepared to beleive that winter is arrived, even when the Konrais have begun blossoming. Her husband who had promised to return home during winter had not come and she is prepared to discredit Nature as being freakish, disbeleive her own sight and distrust all other evidence rather than beleive that her husband could be false to his word " He has not come, and how could it be winter? " is her question. This is better expressed in a later verse which runs,

" These be fools, these Konrais growing on high.
He told us as he sped to those hills, he would return
By the time winter is on. The winter is not arrived.
And yet these trees sprang to blossoms on every branch
Taking these freakish showers for winter's approach."

(Kuruntokai 66.)

Such is the patience and the charity of the lady, that accords with Mullai.

And again the song,

" The birds are singing and the flowers are drooping ;
The seaside also roars in its loneliness ;
The sky as though assailed by a like malady
Lost to day, has put on like ourselves dreary looks !
I can drag out my existence yet, my friend !
If I should find someone to carry my message
To that lord of shores where the cool Gnalal blows."

(Kuruntokai 310.)

shows the ladylove pining after her betrayer at sight of eventide. All the Neydal incidents are here. It is evening, beachside ; the whole atmosphere is heavy with an incomprehensible uneasiness and the lady's lover is far away unmindful of his former vows. The sulking of

the ladylove is best brought out in the verse,

"Though our happiness is lost and our beauty fades
And though through pining Death ensue, revile him not
Is he not dear to us as a father or a mother?
Why then quarrel, when he feels not any love for us?"
(Kuruntokai 93.)

where the lady refuses herself to her wedded lord saying that he had been full ungentle and that he was a dear relation like a father or a mother, whom one is bound to respect though unkind and with whom a wedded love were incestuous.

15. கொண்டுதலைக் கழிதலும் பிரிந்தவ ணிரங்கலும்
உண்டென மொழிப வோரிடத் தான.

The elopement together and the moaning when left
There could be, they say, in but a single region.

The elopement together = The running away of the two lovers, without the knowledge of the bride's parents.

Moaning when left = The wailing the ladylove indulges in, when the lover goes away without taking her also.

There could region = The poets are agreed that both these actions might occur as appropriate actions of Palai.

This section describes to us how there could be the action of the Kurinji and the Neydal fusing into the Palai.

In desperate cases as when the parents of the bride refuse to bestow the girl on the youth of her choice, the

two lovers make up their minds to run away and get themselves married informally. There is thus afforded to them a chance of union all along. But the author would take it that this is none the less a Palai action as there will always lurk in the minds of the pair, the disquieting fear of pursuers (vide Tol. Porul. 41) which would certainly serve to damp the their zest and joys. It would not be Kurinji which stands for supreme pleasure and the maximum of joy but would only be brought under Palai or parting, for, here the bride any way parts from her parents.

There might be cases also, when the Lover is not bold enough to essay an abduction. He believes, he can persuade her parents to bestow her on him, or he departs hence to bring the wealth they had demanded for the brideprice. In both these cases, he leaves her under her parental roof and departs. This pining which partakes of the Neydal lovemode the author would affirm is Palai only.

But this aphorism as a whole is not of universal application. It is applicable in its entirety to only the Vellalas to whom marriage by elopment together is ordained (Tolkappiam. Porul. 143). The twiceborns cannot contract a runaway marriage. To them nothing is valid that is not witnessed by Agni "the eye of gods." So that, the latter portion of the sutra which refers to the pining of the lady when the husband separates from her, for purposes of war, learning or the king's errand alone refers to them. It is thus a Peruntinai fusing into Palai as Ilampuranar says.

16. கலந்த பொழுதுங் காட்சியு மன்ன.

Union and sight are of similar state.

Union=Nacchinarkiniar would take it that a physical embrace is meant here, whereas Ilampuranar would restrict it to a mere softening of the heart or an onesided love on the part of the youth.

Sight=Vision.

Are of similar state=Both belong to the same class, *viz.*, Kaikkilai according to Ilampuranar and Palai according to Nacchinarkiniar.

This aphorism according to Nacchinarkiniar shows, how there could occur Kurinji in Palai. But according to Ilampuranar, this only brings Kaikkilai under Kurinji. Union according to him would refer only to that moment when the youth lets his heart wander after the maid who had appeared within his vision. There is afterwards a suspension and an anxiety assailing the heart of the youth, till he should learn her exact intentions. Therefore from the moment of his sight till he should learn of her exact intentions, is one single state of suspended love or Kaikkilai. Everything that occurs thereafter such as addressing her or approaching her should become a Kurinji incident.

17. முதலெனப் படுவ தாயிரு வகைத்தே.

Essentials are twofold divided.

The two essentials as we have seen before, are space and time.

18. தெய்வ முணவே மாமரம் புட்பறை
செய்தி யாழின் பகுதியொடு தொகைஇ
அவ்வகை பிறவுங் கருவென மொழிப.

Patron deity, food, fauna, flora, birds and drum
Activities along with musical modes, all reckoned,
These and kindred others, they say, constitute
"environment."

Patron deity=The chief deity that presides over a particular region, as enumerated in aphorism 5.

Food=The staple food of the region, as also the means of livelihood.

Fauna=The beasts and the domestic animals that are native to a particular clime.

Flora=The fruitbearing and flowerbearing trees and creepers that grow in those lands, naturally.

Birds=The particular birds which are by nature placed in a particular Tinai land.

Drum=The musical drum with its accompaniments, which is indulged in and which is adopted by the children of a particular soil and in which they find particular delight.

Activities=The occupations of the people; the prevailing occupation, industry or trade.

Musical modes=Particular tunes and notes belonging to the several climes.

These and kindred others reckoned=These and the rest of a similiar nature such as the name of the flower, water facilities, village inhabitants and the rest.

They say constitute environment=These together form the surrounding, viz., the various natural things that could be predicated of any country.

This aphorism predicates what are treated of as environments, in Tamil grammar. These differ with the varied Tinais. The following are the environments, accepted for the various tinais.

Mullai has, as Deity, Lord Vishnu; food, various kinds of millet, (*panicum crusgalli, panicum miliare, panicum miliacium* etc.) and gram; fauna, the deer, *pulvay* and the hare; flora, Konrai (*Indian laburnum*), Kurundu (*hiptage medablota*); birds, junglefowl, partridge and the quail; drum, the bull fight drum; activities; tending cattle, weeding, threshing, and the like operations in the millet fields; musical mode, the mullai-yazh; and kindred others; Jasmine and its varieties for flowers; forest streams for water; and *padi* or shepherd hamlet, *ceri* or the herds-man's village and *palli* for towns.

Kurinji has as Deity, Lord Muruga; food, mountain paddy (*oryza mutica*), millet and bamboo rice; fauna, tiger, elephant, bears, and boars; flora, agil (*agallocha*), sandal and teakwood, timis and kino; birds, parrot and the peacock; drum, *murugiyam* or the musical instruments used in the worship of Lord Muruga and *thondaka* drum; activities, gathering honey, digging up edible roots, cultivating millet, and the scaring away of parrots from fields; musical mode, the *Kurinji* melody, and kindred others; kandal, (*gloriosa superba*) vengai (*kino*) and blue lotus springing in pools for flowers; hill torrents and pools for water; and *cirukuti* (hamlets) and *kurucchi* (hill-men's town) or towns.

Marutam has as Deity, Indra; food, superior yellowish paddy and other common varieties of rice; fauna, buffalo and the water hog; flora vanci (*heptage*), kanci (*Elmtree-ulmus integrifolia*) and marutam; birds, the duck

and the waterfowl; drum, the wedding music and the drum used in harvesting; activities, sowing, weeding, harvesting and threshing in the fields; music, *marutayazh* and kindred others; lotus and the waterlily as flowers; river-water, wells, and tanks for water and well built towns and cities for towns.

Neydal, seacoast or littoral land has as Deity; Lord Varuna; food, sale proceeds of fish and salt; fauna, pack-oxen used in dragging salt waggons; flora, punnai, gnalal (*Climber wagaty*) kandal (*the screw pine*); birds, the swan, the curlew (*anril)* and others; drum, the fishing drum; activities, fishing, fishcuring, salt manufacture and its sale and kindred others; kaitai (*fragrant screwpine*) and neydal for flowers; sand-wells and pits dug up in the marshes for water; and fisherman's hamlets and ports for towns.

Palai has no deity. It is a godless, god-forsaken waste. It has as food, wealth had by highway robberry and pillage; fauna, the faint elephant, tiger and the brown coloured dog; flora, dried up mahua (***brassia longifolia***), the tooth brush tree (*salvadore persica)*, the ballon wine (*cardiospermum halicacabum*), and the gnemai; birds, the eagle, the kite and the dove; the drum that is sounded when assaulting people for plunder and in cattle-clifting; music, palaiyazh and kindred others; naraa, the bottle flower (*webro corymaza*) and the Padiri for flowers; dried up springs and wells for water and deserted hamlets for towns.

Under kindred others we might also bring the names of the inhabitants of these regions, of which later.

19 எந்நில மருங்கிற் பூவும் புள்ளும்
அந்நிலம் பொழுதொடு வாரா வாயினும்
வந்த நிலத்தின் பயத்த வாகும்.

In all these regions, the flowers and birds
Though with their lands and seasons may not occur
Assume the character of the land of occurrence.

In all the regions = In the fourfold regions into which earth is divided.

The flowers and birds = The birds and flowers described to be peculiar to the region as explained in the previous aphorism.

Though—occur = Though they may not be described in their proper regions *i.e.*, though there might be a confusion as among the lands, the flowers and the birds.

Assume—occurrence = The confusion is made right by treating them as natural.

This section regularises the confusion that might arise through the coincidence of lands with stranger flowers and birds. A very telling instance of the confusion of flowers occurs in Kapilar's song of the Kurinji.

20. பெயரும் வினையுமென் றாயிரு வகைய
திணைதொறு மரீஇய திணைநிலைப் பெயரே.

Tribal and vocational, thus twofold divided
Is the tinai name, differing in each region.

Tribal = A name based on the race or tribe to which the people in a particular region belong, *i.e.*, a classname.

Vocational = A name derived from the occupation or profession followed by a particular class of people.

Twofold divided is the tinai name=The name of people belonging to a single region is derived from two sources, from the tribe to which they belonged and their vocation as mentioned supra.

Differing in each region=The names so derived are peculiar to each of these regions.

This-aphorism describes how the varied names used in the body of poetry are derived. They are based, he observes, on either the classname of the race or the particular profession which the individual was following, and these were differrent for the various regions. Thus the names based on race or tribe are *Kanavan* (forester), *Vettuvan* (hunter), *Iravular* (wanderer), *Kunruvan* (hillman), *Vettuvittiyar* (huntress), *Kurattiyar* (gypsy-woman), *Kunruvittiyar* (hillwomen), and other female names for the Kurinji region. *Kovalar* (herdsmen), *Idaiyar* (herdsmen being the people of the middle regions), *Ayar* (cowherds), *Potuvar* (herdsmen deriving their living by grazing their cattle on the common), *Idaicciyar* (shepherd women), *Kovittiyar* (cowherdsmen's wives), *Aycciyar* (cowherdesses), and *potuviyar* (potuva women) are the names for the people of the Mullai region. *Nulaiyar*, *Timilar* (boatsmen), *paratavar*, *Nulaittiyar* (nulaya women), and *Parattiyar* (paratha women) are names of people on the Neydal seaboard. *Kalamar* (threshing floormen or threshers), *Uzhavars* (tillers or husbandmen), *Kataiyar* (the least of men in the agricultural tracts), *Uzhattiyar* (uzhava women) *Kataiciyar* (katai or the least of women in the agricultural tracts) and other names are for the people of the Marutam tract, whilst for the Palai we have *Eyinar* (hunters of the desert tracts), *Eyitriyar* (Eyina women), *Maravar* (warriors), *Marattiyar* (warrior women), *Mili* (the strong) the *Vitalai* (the tenacious one) and *Kalai* (the bull-like one).

But the heroes and heroines that occur in the old songs are always not mentioned by name but are taken generally to be the chiefest in the land. (cf. Tol. Porul. 25). Their names therefore are different from what we have seen above, and are based on the lordship over the several regions. They are *Verpan*, *cilampan*, *poruppan*, etc. all meaning "lord of mountains or hills" and *Koticci* (creeperlike girl) for the Kurinji people, *Annal* (lord), *Tonral* (scion), *Kurumporainatan* (chief of the sylvan tracts), and *Manaivi* (wife) for people on the Mullai, *Konkan* (chief of the maritime tract), *Turaiva* (lord of the seaport), and *Mellampulampan* (the lord of shores where obtains the low moan) for people in the Neydal seaboard, and *Mahizhnan* (the joyous one or the delighter), and *Manaiyal* (the lady of the mansion) for the Marutam people. No name has been given for the lady of the Neydal, because all the songs pertaining to this tinai are put only in the lady's mouth and she could speak of herself only in the first personal pronoun.

21. ஆயர் வேட்டுவ ராடூஉத் திணைப்பெயர்
ஆவயின் வருஉங் கிழவரு முளரே.

Herdsmen and hunters are the tinai names of males.
There are also "lords" named after their tracts.

Herdsmen—males=These two are the names of the ordinary people inhabiting the Mullai and the Kurinji regions respectively.

There—tracts=There are also names such as "lord of jungles", "lord of hills" etc., derived from the fact of their ownership of tracts of land.

This aphorism gives the division of the tinai names, we enumerated supra, into the names of the common

people and names of chieftains. Instances of such usage are to be had in all the songs relating to Akam-poetry.

22. ஏனோர் மருங்கினு மெண்ணுங் காலை
ஆனா வகைய திணைநிலைப் பெயரே.

Even in the case of the rest, when we closely consider,
Similar therein are divisions of regional name.

Even—consider=When we consider the names of people in the other regions, *viz.* Palai, Marutam and Neydal.

Similar—names=There is a similar classification of names, viz. one for the common people of the districts and another for the lords of those regions.

This is an extension of the classification effected in the last aphorism to the other regions also.

23. அடியோர் பாங்கினும் வினைவலர் பாங்கினுங்
கடிவரை யிலபுறத் தென்மனார் புலவர்.

Love-themes with slaves and servants
Are not censured in "Life" say the wise.

Lovethemes—servants=Slaves and servants generally are not depicted as heroes of lovepoems. Hence,

Are—"Life"=Their lovethemes are described in Akappuram, in the Tinais other than Aintinais *i. e.* in Kaikkilai and Peruntinai only.

We have seen before, that only the chiefest in the land are made heroes of lovesongs. Therefore it stands

to reason to say that servants and slaves cannot be heroes of such lovethemes, the reason for such exclusion being that love is best enjoyed, when its enjoyment does not affect the due fulfillment of all the four objects of human existence viz. virtue, wealth, love and salvation and none but a chief or supreme lord who could command infinite resources, could so regulate it. Servants and slaves are not masters of their own selves and how could they then enjoy love and life to their fill?

But it would be contrary to Nature to deny them any amativeness. Therefore in this aphorism, the author provides a situation in which it could occur, viz. in Kaikkilai and Peruntinai which are described as being partly Puram and partly Akam and are therefore called felicitously *Akappuram*.

An instance of such "love in the servants' quarters" occurs in Kalittokai. 94.

24. ஏவன் மரபி னேனோரு முரியர்
ஆகிய நிலைமை யவரு மன்னர்.

The avowed masters, and the rest and those others
Who servants could command could also be heroes.

The avowed masters = Those who are by the Vedas declared to be entitled to service, *viz.*, the twice-borns, Brahmins, Kshattriyas, and Vaisyas.

And the rest = The fourth caste of Sudras, or as Nacchinarkkiniar would have it, the Vellalas, who are the last when reckoning is made of the fourfold castes.

And those—command = And also those other people, who being Sudras, are either through their

achievement of a chieftainship or through being elevated or being honoured by the king' are in a position to disport retainers.

Could also be heroes=Could well be treated of as heroes of lovethemes in the Akamsongs, according to Nacchinarkkiniar and in the Akappuram songs relating to Kaikkilai and Peruntinai according to Ilampuranar.

This aphorism gives a further list of people, who could lend themselves to treatment as heroes in songs of love. The last aphorism said that servants and slaves, not being independant agents could not adequately enjoy the full measure of tranquil and undisturbed love and pleasure. This aphorism indicates yet others who are similarly situated eve uthough they might occupy an independant position and as such could be brought only under Kaikkilai and Peruntinai. These are the twice-borns, of whom the Brahmins cannot enjoy the Aintinai love. The Kshattriyas and Vaisyas came generally to disfavour it, in their aping of Brahmin manners and customs. The chieftains and nobles, who imitated their Kshattriya overlords, from whom they derived their position and the Vellala who began imitating the Brahmin generally also discountenanced the Aintinai usage. These could therefore be treated of only under Kaikkilai and Peruntinai. This is the position taken by Ilampuranar.

But, Nacchinarkkiniar would take it that these are heroes of Akam songs properly and he adduces quotation to show how these people are treated of in lovesongs. He adduces the Kuruntokai song,

"With her Kandal-like hands besmeared with curd
She put on her washed garments all in a haste :
And as her lord tastes with pleasure, of the soup
She had prepared, her very eyes smelling spices
And certifies to its taste, her bright beaming forehead
Clearly expressed the still delight that was hers."
(Kuruntokai. 167.)

and says "This song treats of a brahmin and his brahmin wife. This is the song of the nurse, who had paid a visit to the recently wedded daughter in her new abode."

But there is a way of reconciling the two interpretations viz., by taking it as a case of confusion, in accordance with aphor. 13 supra. Nacchinarkkiniar would always bring Kaikkilai and Peruntinai under ordinary Akam. This explains also how the Kaikkilai in Kalittokai songs, which treat of the love amongst slaves and servants, (Kali - 94.) of the Asura mode of Bullfight Kaikkilai (Kali - 103, 104, etc.,) and of the Rakshasa mode of bridecapture (Kali - 62) in the Marutam, Mullai and Kurinji divisions. Ilampuranar with his grammarian prepossession, would always insist on treating Kaikkilai and Peruntinai as Non-Akam, whereas these are accorded some position in lovethemes by Nacchinarkkiniar, since they also treat of love and are some forms in which human passion asserts itself.

25. ஓதல் பகையே தூதிவை பிரிவே.

Learning, the enemy and embassy - these are parting.

This aphorism lays down some of the more important and praiseworthy causes that occasion parting, the

appropriate loveaction for Palai. Learning which occasions parting was a legitimate cause for distant sojourn. The inroads of the enemy might similarly call forth the heroic in the land from their domestic loves. So might occasions of a peace declaration, which call for the services of the best and the noblest in the land for purposes of negotiation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration. There are other partings, in quest of wealth and the like, but, being not so praiseworthy, as the above three, are not treated of at first.

26. அவெற்றுள்,
ஓதலுந் தூது முயர்ந்தோர் மேன.

Of them,
Learning and embassy befit the great.

Of them=Of the three-fold causes of separation mentioned supra.

Learning and embassy=Parting suffered for purposes of learning and embassy.

Befit the great=Become the noblerborn, the Brahmins and the Kshattriya's, being the great in learning and in wealth, according to Ilampuranar, and the twiceborns according to Nacchinarkiniar.

This prescribes learning and embassy to the great in the land, who alone could fruitfully undertake the above. Akananuru verse 54 is illustration for a Brahmin taking up an ambassadorship. That of Krishna would illustrate the case of a monarch undertaking a similar office. Kalittokai 15 is a case of a Brahmin parting for learning. The absence of verses instancing a Vaisya parting for aforesaid purposes, would perhaps strengthen the position of Ilampuranar.

27. தானே சேறலுந் தன்னொடு சிவணிய
ஏனோர் சேறலும் வேந்தன் மேற்றே.

Marching himself alone and his subordinate chiefs
Advancing alongside, both befit the king.

Marching himself=A king can advance against the enemy himself and so force himself away from the company of his wife.

And his—alongside=Similarly, bent on his cause, his chieftains might march to his help, thus parting from their kith and kin.

Both befit the king=Both are partings bent on the king's purpose. One effected by the king himself marching onward and the other by a chieftain at the bidding of his overlord.

Marching against the enemy which was mentioned as the second cause of parting, is either that of the king alone or with his chieftains. But both are partings through a king's errand. It would be a personal interest in the case of the king that occasions the separation. That in the case of the chieftains would be called "parting through the king's errand". This is referred to by Irayanar also, in his "Love-Aphorisms" s. 39. wherein he declares,

"In the service of the king and in quest of wealth,
Departure of those of a lowlier state is fixed."

28. மேவிய சிறப்பி னேனோர் படிமைய
முல்லை முதலாச் சொல்லிய முறையாற்
பிழைத்தது பிழையா தாகல் வேண்டியும்
இழைத்த வொண்பொருண் முடியவும் பிரிவே.

For the worship of the idols, dedicated to the great immortals
And when in the fourfold lands, we have mentioned afore
Injustice prevails, to restore the reign of law and order.
To earn the much desired wealth also, there occurs parting.

For worship—immortals = The text has "relating to the idols of those blessed ones other than men." Men and gods are counted the blest and those other than men are gods *i.e.* the immortals. To attend to the worship and the festivals of gods is a legitimate cause for parting.

And when—order = This embraces the reduction of mutinous elements in one's own realms, the extension of one's sway over stranger lands, the invasion of enemy territories, their subjection, and consequent restoration of law and order or other incidents of war and peace.

To earn—wealth = Journeying for purposes of trade.

This aphorism gives other cases which justify separation on the part of the lover. Though neither Ilampuranar nor Nacchinarkkiniar mentions this fact to us, it appears that the poet might have had in his mind, the main causes that occasion parting in the cases of the three twiceborn classes. The worship of gods and the

holding of festivals might lure the Brahmin away from the side of his beloved. Temple administration and enquiries and also annual festivals might similarly draw the prince. But in his case, it might be argued that he need not be necessarily separated from his wife, as there is nothing preventing him from repairing to the festival accompanied by his queen. The second involving as it does, a king's personal and strenuous attention, essentially involves a separation, in the case of a Kshattriya The third kind of parting, for making money, is only for the Vaisya.

In the march of the Chera monarch Cenkuttuvan to the North, we have the first two kinds of parting. Mullaippattu and Nedunalvadai are instances of similar parting for purposes of war.

29. மேலோர் முறைமை நால்வர்க்கு முரித்தே.

Service of the great ones, befits all the four.

Service—ones=Service of gods or the service prescribed to the Brahmins, the great ones in the land.

Befits all four=Is becoming to all the four castes and justifies their partings.

This aphorism is an extension of the first kind of parting to all the four castes. All the castes are equally bound and priveleged to conduct divine worship; and though it is the Brahmin that stands out foremost, as being the "Divine interceder", the person entitled to touch, anoint, lustrate, adorn and worship the idols and also to deck them out, exhibit them and carry them along in processional form, the others also are equally enjoyers

of the festival, as being the donors, helpers and spectators of the grand function. Hence this aphorism.

In this article, Ilampuranar though right in the main, seems to have missed the logical sequence that obtains in the arrangement of Tolkappiam aphorisms. By "Melor" the great ones, he says, are meant gods. But Tolkappiar seems to refer to Brahmins here, unto whom he prescribed the first kind of parting, mentioned supra. This view is strengthened by the fact, that the author expressly refers to the "four casts" in this very aphorism, who, he says, are entitled to an equal right along with their betters. viz. the Brahmins and also by the fact that the succeeding aphorism prescribes a similar extension of a Kshattriya's parting to others.

But, Nacchinarkkiniar in his desire for reading modern notions and Brahminic scriptural texts into these aphorisms, gives quite a different interpretation. He would take it that the expression "melor" in the aphorism referred to the pursuit of wealth mentioned in the previous article and would apply it to all the four castes.

The Brahmin earns wealth by his learning and by taking up the office of an ambassador. The Kshattriyas subdue their enemies and draw their wealth of tribute The higherborn lords of the soil or Vellalas live by following these and the lesserborn by trade. He does not mention either the Vaisya or the Sudra, but puts up in their place, the lords of the soil or the Vellalas, who are divided into two classes viz. those who have their lands tilled by their serfs or others and those who till them themselves. The former became honoured at court and

followed the profession of arms and were honoured by being priveleged to bestow their daughters on the various monarchs and cheiftains in the land in marriage. The latter adopted the manners of the Vaisyas, tilled their soil, carried on trade, served others and so became approximated to the Sudras of the Aryan classification.

30. மன்னர் பாங்கிற் பின்னோ ராகுப.

At the king's side, the latter bide.

At the king's side=Ever beside the king, leading a courtier's life, doing his bidding, generally as his governors, viceroys and his civil servants in the various departments of government.

The latter=The latter two of the *fourfold division* of people.

This article extends the priveleges of a Kshattria to the other two castes also, who are according to Ilampuranar, the Vaisyas and the Vellalas and according to Nacchinarkkiniar, the two sorts of Vellalas, the princely Vellalas, who have their lands tilled by others, and the ordinary Vellalas, who till their own soil. These latter according to Tolkappiar, attend the court and generally do the king's bidding and for such purposes, a parting is permitted. They thus gain much wealth and honour till at last they become worthy of royal alliances. Instances of such royal favours are also mentioned *e.g.* Uruvappahrer Ilancetcenni, the Chola monarch marrying the daughter of Azhundur Vehl or the Baron of Azhundur and the marriage of the daughter of Baron of Nangur with Karikala, the Chola emperor.

31. உயர்ந்தோர்க் குரிய வோத்தி னான.

To the superiors are proper partings for study.

To the superiors=To the Vaisya according to Ilampuranar being the superior of the two mentioned in the article above. To the Brahmin, Kshattria, Vaisya and the princely Vellalas being the greater in the land according to Nacchinarkkiniar.

Are proper=are permitted.

Partings for study=The study of the Vedas, according to Ilampuranar. The study of all other works as derived from the Veda according to Nacchinarkkiniar.

This deals with the separations allowed to a Vaisya. Ilampuranar's interpretation as we observed once before is more scientific. Having treated of the parting prescribed and permitted to a Kshattria and its extension to other castes, the author proceeds to enumerate the parting permissible to a Vaisya. The most praiseworthy is that suffered for purposes of Vedic study and so is placed foremost.

32. வேந்துவினை யியற்கை வேந்த னொரீஇய
ஏனோர் மருங்கினு மெய்திட னுடைத்தே.

Prosecuting the devoir of a king, amongst unkingly Strangers also, are seen rightfully discharged.

Prosecuting—king=This means according to Ilampuranar the doing the biddings of a king and serving as the king's ambassador; for a king's devoir is to ensure peace to his subjects and negotiations are so necessary for peace. According to Nacchinarkkiniar however, this means the assumption of cheiftainship or kingship itself.

Amongst—also=Amongst the Vaisyas and Vellalas according to Ilampuranar and princely Vellalas according to Nacchinarkkiniar.

Are—discharged=When they are so despatched, having been appointed as ministers and other officers by the king according to Ilampuranar.

This aphorism prescribes the "parting" of the Vaisya due to his being appointed an ambassador by the king. Separation due to Vedic learning has been mentioned before. Now follows, in due order, parting because of kingly office which according to Ilampuranar means service under the king. Nacchinarkkiniar of course could not help bringing in his own notions and held that the usurpation or assumption of royalty itself was meant. That Ilampuranar's nterpretation is right would follow from the succeding article also. The assumption of kingship, by Brahmins is expressly provided for by Tolkappiar in Marapiyal S. 638. and need not be read in here.

33. (a) பொருள்வயிற் பிரிதலு மவர்வயி னுரித்தே.

Parting in quest of wealth also, them befits.

This section and the next are taken together by Nacchinarkkiniar.

This aphorism deals with the parting in pursuit of wealth, a kind of parting which is peculiar to Vaisyas and Vellalas. Nacchinarkkiniar would have it that this refers to the cheiftains. he has created in the previous sutra.

33. (b) உயர்ந்தோர் பொருள்வயி னொழுக்கத் தான.

With the great, parting for wealth, conforms to their vows.

This aphorism extends the parting for wealth, peculiar to the Vaisyas, to the Brahmins also. The Brahmins also part for wealth, but their parting is limited only to those pursuits which are consistent with their calling e. g. to act as a sacrificer, for learning, worship and others which might bring in wealth.

But Nacchinarkkiniar would read this along with the previous article as one sutra and would take this to extend the parting prescribed for the superior castes, also to chieftains and petty monarchs who according to him are also priveleged to study the Veda.

34. முந்நீர் வழக்க மகடூஉவோ டில்லை.

Seavoyage is not permitted along with women

Parting is effected by the lover betaking himself to a distant country, either by land or by sea and this article lays down definitely that women are not permitted to accompany their husbands in their voyages by sea. By implication we have it, that when journey is undertaken by land or by foot, women might accompany their lovers.

But Nacchinarkkiniar would object to this interpretation and hold that the parting indicated here was the threefold parting, parting for learning, embassy and wealth. In these three cases heroes are not accompanied by their women. He also holds that there is no instance in the whole range of Tamil Literature countenancing Ilampuranar's interpretation, though one is reminded of Kovalan's fateful journey with his wife to Madura.

35. எத்திணை மருங்கினு மகடூஉ மடன்மேற்
பொற்புடை நெறிமை யின்மை யான

Whatever the birth, no maid shall ride the
palmhorse,
Since it is not one, accords with feminine propriety.

Whatever the birth=Whatever might be the relative position of lovers and also whatever might be the degree of attachment subsisting between the lovers.

No maid—horse=A lady is not permitted to ride the palmhorse.

Since—modesty=Since such an act would conflict with our notions of womanly modesty.

This aphorism describes the "madal" or the palm-horse, a stratagem resortedto by the lover, whose suit a ladylove had rejected. It was the custom amongst the early Tamils for the desperate lover to threaten to ride the palmhorse, to cause the object of his love to relent towards him. The lover would paint his body in garish colours put on a garland of bones and Erukkan (madar—*calatropis gigantea*) flowers and seating himself on a horse, fashioned out of palmyraleaves, appear on the highway and sing dolorous airs, revealing the lady, love for whom had brought on to him this catastrophe, and declare that he was going to commit suicide. Though as a rule this threat to commit suicide, does not seem to have been carried out, literature dealing with this species of lovecompulsion, gives such a graphic and detailed account of the practice, that we are compelled to believe it. Threats of other suicidal measures are also mentioned in this connection, such as precipitating ones self from a precipice.

Something similiar to this, is depicted in the drama called Malati—Madhava by Bhavabhuti, in the rite known as the "*mahamamsa vikraya*" or the "selling of human flesh" to the demons and the goblins, so that

they might influence the ladylove's passions and make her relent towards him.

Since this "madal" is forbidden for ladies, we can take it that this is permitted only for males. Incidentally, this aphorism illustrates to us also the high regard and respect that was evinced towards our women in Ancient India. Nothing unbecoming could be ascribed to them. Such was the veneration, they inspired in the hearts of men.

36. தன்னு மவனு மவளுஞ் சுட்டி
மன்னு நிமித்த மொழிப்பொரு டெய்வ
நன்மை தீமை யச்சஞ் சார்தலென்
றன்ன பிறவு மவற்றொடு தொகைஇ
முன்னிய கால மூன்றுடன் விளக்கித்
தோழி தேஎத்துங் கண்டோர் பாங்கினும்
போகிய திறத்து நற்றாய் புலம்பலு
மாகிய கிளவியு மவ்வழி யுரிய.

Referring to ones self, the hero and the heroine,
And the auspicious signs, propitious words, and God,
The benefits, evils, fears, the return of lovers
And others of the kind, having blended together,
The past, present and the future, patiently dwelling
Towards the maid and towards the visitors,
When the heroine elopes, the nurse's wailing
And other like songs, are appropriate deemed.

The expression "AKAM" we have at the outset observed, indicated that the matter dealt with under this head was something felt from within, and as such something which the poet could not successfully attempt to describe from without. Therefore the "Lovesongs"

of the Tamils are always put in the mouth of the parties actually concerned therein. And this aphorism describes the subjectmatter of the songs, that might be put into the lips of the nurse when she finds that her ward had eloped with her lover. It must be remembered that this aphorism is more enumerative than definitive.

The following are some of the subjects she might dwell on.

Referring to—heroine = She might refer to her own neglected state, how she is unable to bear the separation from her ward, how she formerly had tended her most affectionately, how she had not deserved such ingratitude and so on. Or she might dwell on the gracelessness and the cruelty of the lover who tore her ward away from her. Or she might blame the truant girl or lament the dread waste along which she might have to travel as she crosses the border with her highland lover.

And the auspicious—together = She might consider the elopement also, an auspicious and much-to-be-wished-for consummation. Or she might be tempted to consider it a disgrace to the family and an insult levelled against herself. Or she might be afraid of the dangers, that lurk along the highway, in the shape of wild beasts and ferocious robbers. She might fondly hope also that the truant lovers would soon return craving for forgiveness and permission to marry each other.

The past—dwelling = She might dwell on the pictures of former days, when she with unbounded love and care fed her child with milk and food and watched with delight the gradual blooming of the child into a radiant, romping, boisterous girl and wonder how she could have

entertained ideas of running away or she might hazard a guess into the future and draw to her mind the consoling and positively pleasurable vision of the future domestic joys of the runaway pair.

Towards the mind=They might be addressed to the servantmaid, who is the constant companion of the heroine.

Towards the visitors=They might be addressed also to strangers who come enquiring, hearing the story of the elopement.

When — — deemed=The nurse is primarily in charge of the heroine and is represented as being most affectionate towards her ward whom she had reared from her childhood and on whom she had lavished a motherly care. She might lament and bewail and might address her songs to the maids and condoling strangers, an insight into whose contents has been given above.

A more detailed account of these songs will be given in subsequent chapters on courtship and wedded love.

37. எமப் பேரூர்ச் சேரியுஞ் சுரத்துந்
தாமே செல்லுந் தாயரு முளரே.

Along streets of the walled city, and the jungles,
There are also mothers that searching speed.

This aphorism indicates, how the nurses and the foster mothers might go out into the broad streets of the guarded city and also along the junglewaste that lies on the way to the abode of the lover and search out the guilty pair, with a view to recapturing them.

Along — — jungles = The original has " CERI " which might mean either a street or a subarban village. Since the city is guarded during nights the nurse and the others, if they are aware of the elopement even during the night of the occurrence, might with lantern in hand, look for them within the city itself and so search out its streets. But if it is morning, when they hear of it, they might look out for her either in the adjoining hamlet or along jungletracts.

There are — — speed = " MOTHERS " in the plural indicates the plurality of the nurses and the foster mothers. No poet is entitled to depict the mother herself as stirring out of her mansions, as we are always to imagine the hero or the heroine in " LOVE SONGS " to belong to the best station in life, disporting many ageold and liveried servants. The verse,

" Holding overhead an umbrella to ward off the scorching rays
With your looped vessels and with triple staves,
Hanging from your shoulders, with fixed intent,
Brahmin seers! You that go wandering from shrine to shrine!
As you passed by these wild spots, this evening hour
Did you not see, two young people pass by? - two -
One is my daughter and the other is some stranger youth
And they have wedded with rites known unto them alone.

(*Kalittokai*—9)

is an instance of how the nurse accosts people on the highway inquiring after her runaway ward. Nacchinarkkiniar would quote,

" They cannot surely have buried themselves in the earth
Nor can they vanish into the air. They cannot by foot
Have crossed the broad surface of the sea. Land after land,
Town after town and in every hamlet, if we seek
We cannot surely lose sight of our beloved ones !"

(*Kuruntokai*—130)

as instancing the resolution of the nurse to pursue the runaway pair, though the verse as it occurs in the collection might be put into the mouth of the maid also as comforting her mistress. (vide Lovesongs of the Tamils. 65.)

38. அயலோ ராயினு மகற்சி மேற்றே.

Though biding in the neighbourhood, it is elopement yet.

This indicates how it is still to be con-sidered an elopement, even if the runaway pair had not proceeded beyond the confines of the city or the village and even though they had sheltered themselves behind a neighbouring roof. It is the guilty intent, that constitutes elopement and the slightest movement is enough to beget the unenviable reputation of a runaway bride.

39. தலைவரும் விழும நிலையெடுத் துரைப்பினும்
போக்கற் கண்ணும் விடுத்தற் கண்ணு
நீக்கலின் வந்த தம்முறு விழுமமும்
வாய்மையும் பொய்மையுங் கண்டோர்ச் சுட்டித்
தாய்நிலை நோக்கித் தலைப்பெயர்த்துக் கொளினு
நோய்மிகப் பெருகித் தன்னெஞ்சு கலுழ்ந்தோளை
யழிந்தது களைஇய வொழிந்தது கூறி
வன்புறை நெருங்கி வந்ததன் றிறத்தோ
டென்றிவை யெல்லா மியல்புற நாடி
னொன்றித் தோன்றுந் தோழி மேன.

Depicting the future grief of the lady, when
parted
Advising their elopement and taking farewell
of them,
Regretting herself at parting the lady from
her family
Referring to the faith and the falsity in all his
acts,
Painting the return of the lady, or the sad
state of the mother,
And to the lady heartbroken through the raging
torments,
Saying "Cease thy grief" relating her lover's
words
And steadying her, approaching her with
assuring words
These and the rest that naturally flow, are all
speeches
That in songs of love, befit the maids confidante.

This aphorism describes the burden of the maid's songs.

Depicting-parted=She might dwell on the distress of her mistress during the period of separation and so strive to dissuade the lover from going.

Advising their elopement=She might also suggest to the lover the idea of carrying away the bride to his own mansion, so that the lady might not pine at the parting.

And taking leave of them=Bidding adieu to the lovers. She might also incidentally address the lover and beg of him to use her mistress kindly. She might advise the lady as to her future conduct and behaviour. Or she might bless them both and bid them be never separated.

Regretting-roof=The maid might also regret the necessity which compelled them to resort to the extreme step of eloping.

Referring-acts=She might banter away with the lover, dwelling on his foibles before consenting to be a party to their clandestine love. Or she might praise his virtues and require him to behave in a virtuous manner. She will dwell on his conduct hitherto in support of her statements.

Leading-mother=She might present to the lovers the sad state of the grieving mother and so compell the lady to return to her abode, so that she might bring cheer to the wailing mother.

And to-words=Or she might reassure the lady of her lover's fidelity by breathing into her ears the expressions he had given vent to when parting.

And steadying-assuring words=Words of comfort and good cheer, she might address, thus bracing her up.

These-flow=And other expressions that are suggested by the varying course of incidents are also proper.

Are all-confidante=Songs expressing these ideas are put into the mouth of that chosen maid, whom the lady had selected for imparting her confidences.

The whole bulk of songs in the various anthologies, which are put into the maid's mouth would be illustrative of the above rule. The *Kurinjippattu* is an instance of how the maid announces the love of her mistress to the mother.

40. பொழுது மாறு முட்குவரத் தோன்றி
வழுவி னாகிய குற்றங் காட்டலு
மூரது சார்வுஞ் செல்லுந் தேயமு
மார்வ நெஞ்சொடு செப்பிய கிளவியும்
புணர்ந்தோர் பாங்கிற் புணர்ந்த நெஞ்சமொ
டழிந்தெதிர் கூறி விடுப்பினு மாங்கத்
தாய்நிலை கண்டு தடுப்பினும் விடுப்பினுஞ்
சேய்நிலைக் ககன்றோர் செலவினும் வரவினுங்
கண்டோர் மொழிதல் கண்ட தென்ப.

Describing the insecure pathways and the fearful hour,
Expounding the dangers that might assail the reckless traveller,
Information as to the nearness of the town and the distance
Of the destination, vouchsafed by affection-softened hearts
And with a love drawn towards the clandestine lovers,
Advising them return because of the weary way that lies ahead,
And on the highway seeing the mother, staying her and speeding her,
And words addressed at the departure of lovers and the arrival of the nurse,
Are expressions, they say, that fit in with the passersby.

This aphorism describes what are fit to be put into the mouth of the travellers on the highway, when they accost the eloping bride and her lover or the nurse that sets out in their pursuit, agreeably to article 40 supra.

Describing-hour = The passersby as they espy the lovers proceeding on their path might warn them gener-

ally of the insecurity of the roads and the blinding darkness of the night, lest they should come to any harm at the hands of the robbers infesting the adjoining woods.

Expounding—traveller = They might detail to them the perils awaiting those that proceed uncautious along the highway, such as the news of the presence of robbers, of the wild beasts that roam about, the lately flooding torrents and the like.

Information—hearts = Information supplied by passersby who because of their having like daughters and sons, feel drawn towards them, in reply to the anxious queries of the hastening lovers, concerning their path.

And—ahead = Some dwellers of wayside village being also affectionately disposed, might, informing them of how there was a great distance to be covered ere they reached their destination entreat them to accept of their hospitality, rest themselves of nights and then proceed, for, hospitality was ever the remarkable point with the Orientals.

And—speeding her = Since according to aphorism 40, the nurse is entitled to seek out her ward, the passersby would meet them on their way and reply to her queries. They might restrain the nurse from pursuing them any further, either because the lovers had reached a distance beyond the nurse's reach, or because they felt that the attitude of the lovers was right. Or they might give her information as to their whereabouts to facilitate their recapture.

And—nurse = The monologues and asides of passers-by as they behold the lovers and the nurse hot in their pursuit.

Are—passersby=These constitute the burden of the speech that might be relegated to the wayside travellers.

It must be noted that this aphorism like the preceding one is merely descriptive and in no way definitive. This article mentions the more prominent facts that might constitute their songs. The song,

"The bowarmed one hath got his hero's footchain;
And the braceletted maid hath also her sounding anklet.
Who be these good ones that brave the dreaded woods
Full of bamboos, where *vahai's* ripened seeds do scream
To the winds making the noise of an airdrum suspended
From the neck of the ropedancer? They are truly to be pitied." (*Kuruntokai 7*)

is uttered by the travellers as they perceive the runaway pair.

"It is not we have not seen them lady! You are perhaps
Mother unto that coy-bejewelled maid, that through these woods
Passed in company with a youth in whom many virtues shone.
The sweetscented sandal benefitteth but him that useth;
What avails it to the mountain, though the mountain be its mother?
If you think well lady, like is your daughter unto you!
The beauteous whitepearl adorneth but him that weareth;

What avails it to the sea, though the sea be its
mother?
If you mark well lady, like is your daughter unto
you!
The seven chords of harmony please but him
that tuneth;
What avails it to the lute, though the lute be its
mother?
If you note well lady, like is your daughter unto you!
Therefore lady!
Obstruct not the course of that chaste maid, that is
sped;
She hath nobly followed her best of men.
This faith to her lord, this noble deed,
Shall keep them united even in an afterworld.
(*Kalittokai 9*)

is the answer of the sages, passing by to the anxious queries of the pursuing nurse.

41. ஒன்றாத் தமரினும் பருவத்துஞ் சுரத்து
மொன்றிய தோழியொடு வலிப்பினும் விடுப்பினு
மிடைச்சுர மருங்கி னவடம ரெய்திக்
கற்பொடு புணர்ந்த கௌவை யுளப்பட
வப்பாற் பட்ட வொருதிறத் தானு
நாளது சின்மையு மிளமைய தருமையுந்
தாளாண் பக்கமுந் தகுதிய தமைதியு
மின்மைய திளிவு முடைமைய துயர்ச்சியு
மன்பின தகலமு மகற்சிய தருமையு
மொன்றாப் பொருள்வயி னூக்கிய பாலினும்
வாயினுங் கையினும் வகுத்த பக்கமோ
டூதியங் கருதிய வொருதிறத் தானும்
புகழு மானமு மெடுத்துவற் புறுத்தலுந்
தூதிடை யிட்ட வகையி னானு
மாகித் தோன்றும் பாங்கோர் பாங்கினு

மூன்றன் பகுதியு மண்டிலத் தருமையுந்
தோன்றல் சான்ற மாற்றோர் மேன்மையும்
பாசறைப் புலம்பலு முடிந்த காலத்துப்
பாகனொடு விரும்பிய வினைத்திற வகையினுங்
காவற் பாங்கி னாங்கோர் பக்கமும்
பரத்தையி னகற்சியிற் பரிந்தோட் குறுகி
யிரத்தலுந் தெளித்தலு மெனவிரு வகையோ
டுரைத்திற நாட்டங் கிழவோன் மேன.

In spite of unconsenting parents, unwonted
season and the waste,
When the lover with the consent of the maid
elopes with or leaves the bride,
And when in ther midpathway, her relatives
pursuing arrive
And persuade her to return home with them,
and she full aggrieved
Affirming the report of their carnal loves,
chastely hastes
To the side of her lover and discloses her mind,
to him inclined
And when consideration of the brevity of days
and the wealth of youth,
The wearisomeness of toil and the worthiness
of one's objectives,
The disgrace attendant on poverty and the
laudation of riches,
The magnitude and the depth of his love and the
terrible pangs of parting,
All conflicting with the pursuit of wealth,
impel not his stay,
When adopting either the profession of learning
or embracing that of arms,
Or when bent on performing or administering
deeds of charity

Persuading her by addressing arguments based
on fame and glory,
Or when proceeding far, bent on the good office
of mediation
Or when marching forth to succour one's ally
or overlord,
In considering the triple objectives and the
rarity of lands,
And the weighing the superiority of the foeman
in strength and force
And grieving in the camp and when the bloody
warfare is done
His addressing his charioteer as to his next
objective and the like,
Whilst bent on the protection of the country
and other denizens there,
Approaching her that had lately quarrelled
because of his sojourn
At a courtezan's house and craving pardon or
explaining himself,
These and kindred others, are speeches according
to the lover.

This aphorism describes the various songs that might occur assigned to the lover.

In spite—bride = It is with the knowledge, consent and the connivance of the maid that the lover elopes with the lady. We have seen in a former aphorism how the lady's maid actually helps their departure and addresses him words of counsel and farewell. We have naturally to suppose that the lover would vouchsafe some reply to the various anxious queries and exhortations addressed to him and these replies are the speeches referred to here.

And when—inclined=And when the party pursuing them overtakes and entreats the lady to return to her paternal roof, the lady swaying between a conflict of duties to her newlywedded lord and her parents, prefers rather to follow her lover, than return home, without him. She clings to her lover and does not even offer to converse with her relatives. From this both, the passers-by and the pursuing party, are in a position to realize the lady's inclinations. And on these occasions the lover's speech commending the fidelity of her love are had.

And when—impel not his stay=These are the considerations which might induce the lover to stay at home and take his fill of pleasure viz. considerations that a man's life is all too short and fleeting, that youth is evanescent, that to work is always hard and unpleasant, that one should place a high level of ideal before him and be scrupulous in the choice of his profession, and that love was so great and separation was so excruciating painful. But the acquisition of wealth cannot be had without the sacrifice of some or all of these and therefore speeches dwelling on these conflicting considerations might occur to the lover, whenever he is forced to part in pursuit of wealth. e.g. The verse,

"To give and to enjoy is not for the poor.
So do you my heart mature your plans ever for wealth.
Do you think my beauteous one would join me in my quest?
Or tell me my mind! Do you drive me thither alone!
(Kuruntokai 63)

is the monologue of the lover about to part from his beloved. The hero here is mostly one of the merchant class.

When—glory=Or it might be, that the lover undertakes a travel bent on noble purposes, for learning, for fighting the enemy or for the conduct of worship and festivals. These are pursuits that belong as a rule to the brahmins and the kshattrias and both gain to their heroes fame and name. Then has he to expound to his reluctant bride, the sacredness and the glory-begetting nature of his mission and his speech dwelling on these purposes are then natural.

Or when proceeding—overlord=These refer to the other kinds of parting, natural to the abovementioned two and the merchant-princes and chieftains. The occasions are those of mediation between two warring monarchs or when marching to relieve either an ally or to help the overlord, the former being for Brahmins, and the latter for Kshattrias and chieftains.

In considering—force=As the lover hastes to meet the enemy, he pauses to consider awhile the strength of the foeman. He bethinks himself of the triple objectives in political science viz. one's own strength, the strength of one's allies and the relative superiority and efficiency of one's engines of warfare, and of that pertaining to the enemy. He might also dwell on the fertility of the enemy's soil and on the greatness of the foeman, deprived from his possession thereof. The verses describing all these reflections also are considered fitting. The hero here must be a Kshattria or some petty chieftain. Nacchinarkkiniar would however take the triple objectives to be, *Dharma*, *Artha*, and *Kama*.

Grieving in the camp=The musings, the ravings and the monologues that the lover might indulge in, in his camplife, whenever he is reminded of his beloved at home. The hero here is essentially a warrior.

And when—and the like=The various soliloquies and the conversations with his charioteer, which the lover holds as he returns home, describing the bliss that awaited him at his abode, and drawing a programme of life of unalloyed pleasure to be observed as from that date, come in also for treatment here. The lover is then in an exultant mood, expectant of pleasure and he converses throughout in a merry and gladsome vein, with his equerry, as in the song,

"Before the stag drinking of the puddle with its mate
Begins to frisk about and gambol in the woods
And before the evening sets in, speed on O' charioteer!
Thy coursers vying with the winds in their flight,
That we might assuage the misgivings of that dear
Dark-dyed-fish-eyed honeysyllabled sweet little maid!"
(*Kuruntokai* 250.)

The song,

"O Beauteous form! O rare excellence!
With nestling breasts and creeperlike curls
She pressed me close as was her wont
In a hearty embrace and looked at me mournful,
Like as the young calf parted from its milking mother!
How could I forget her? And how parted remain?"
(*Kuruntokai* 132.)

would give us some idea of the lover's monologue.

Whilst—there=This parting refers to the king's officers, belonging to the Kshattria tribe, who are deputed to guard and protect a distant frontier or some

part of the country; which is either harried by the enemy or is infested by wild beasts. The protection of people there and also the ascetics resident in those woods, is the duty of the king's men, which part them from the company of their women, and the lover as he is parting dwells on them lingeringly, to his beloved.

Approaching—explaining = This refers to the sulking and the consequent reconciliation pertaining to the land of the Marutam.

These and kindred others—lover = This covers all other kinds of speech put into the mouth of the lover by the poet.

In expounding this aphorism, both Ilampuranar and Nacchinarkkiniar are in entire agreement in their interpretation except with regard to the line "in considering the triple objectives and the rarity of lands" which the latter would explain in a different manner altogether. He would take it, that the threefold objectives were Dharma, Artha and Kama, or righteousness, wealth and pleasure, which were to be enjoyed, each without conflicting with the other two. Thus pleasure was to be enjoyed through wealth, and wealth was to be earned by pursuing a righteous path. The lover would therefore expound to his beloved, how in a righteous manner he was going to win abundant wealth, with which later they were to lead a life of unalloyed pleasure. And to this end also he would describe the wealth and the rarities that obtain in other lands and this is the rarity of lands referred to in this aphorism. But the explanation which I have followed is that of Ilumpuranar and a little reflection and scrutiny of the context in its sutra setting would clearly show that Ilumpuranar's comments are more trustworthy.

42. ஏனோர் மருங்கு மெஞ்சுத லிலவே.

To the rest also there is nothing disallowed.

Former aphorisms dwelt on the speeches of the mother, nurse, maid, the passersby and the hero and this in a summary manner disposes of the rest viz. the heroine and her friends and the minstrels and the brahmin friends of the hero. Here Ilumpuranar notes the fact that the heroine's speech should be as exhaustive as that of the hero himself and therefore to be dealt with in a separate article. He indeed opines that the sutra relating to that, must have been left uncopied by the carelessness of the scribe and so must have become lost. But he comforts himself with the reflection that this omnibus section embraces everything and so he is enabled to read them into this. A courtezan's speech ridiculing her lover occurs in *Kuruntokai* 8.

43. நிகழ்ந்தது நினைத்தற் கேதுவு மாகும்.

A past occurrence causes also thought.

The memory of former days impels, according to this section, the speech—by implication—of all people. The hero in his many rendezvous, bethinks himself of something that the bride had uttered or done formerly and he dwells on it again and again with a relish. So does the lady with regard to something pertaining to the lover. The nurse also dwells on the pictures of revived memories. And the maid too has something to contribute to the filling up of that tale.

Ilumpuranar and Nacchinarkkiniar would confine the application of this section to Palai, though we are tempted to take it that the memory is capable of calling

up the past everywhere and that we need not restrict its efficacy to a particular region. The context and the succeeding section however support their views.

41. நிகழ்ந்தது கூறி நிலையலுந் திணையே.

Staying him by reminding him of his former words is also Palai.

This aphorism discloses to us how the persuasive arguments addressed by the maid and the ladylove to the hero, in which she reminds him of his former vows and declarations, partake also of the Palai character. A good instance of such occurs in *Kalittokai* 19 which runs,

"With a heart impelled by desire of wealth that is rare
Do not for a moment think of parting, my lord!
Think of the creepers that you painted on our slender arms
And the golden tint on her breasts, that your might doth guard.
There cannot be wealth to be gathered up as one listeth;
Nor do all famish through hunger, who earn not wealth.
And unto them that are blest with fresh youth and love,
Is there a wealth that they need covet? Though it be
That in this short life, that we have with one hand to embrace
Our bare bodies and with yet another tie on our rent garments.

Their lives alone are blessed, that experience
not a parting.
For, hard is it to restore to one the youth that
is lost."
(*Kalittokai* 19)

In the above song, it must be noticed how the lady's maid dwells on the very words which the lover had addressed to her formerly in accordance with sect 44 supra. " In this short life "refers to the brevity of days; "hard is it to restore youth that is lost " refers to the wealth of youth; "there cannot be wealth to be gathered as one listeth " relates back to the worthiness of one's objectives; "with one hand to embrace our bare bodies and with yet another tie our rent garments" would rest itself on disgrace attendant on poverty;"is there a wealth they need covet ? " indicates laudation of one's riches; "Do not think of parting." would depend on the magnitude of love; "think of the creepers etc." would relate back to the terrible pangs of parting. All these are things dwelt on by the lover before and so is the maid justified in referring to them in her speech.

45. மரபுநிலை திரியா மாட்சிய வாகி
விரவும் பொருளும் விரவு மென்ப.

**All other things that conform to the usages of
poetry
Admitting of treatment are brought under Palai.**

This aphorism indicates, how the address of the maid to her lady,' saying, that the lover is returned as often as her mistress loses herself in despondence, the soliloquy in which the lover indulges, bethinking himself of his beloved at home pining through separation,

the despatch of message by the lover from his camp, the fond words of reconciliation addressed by the lover on his return from his distant journeys, the remarks of the passersby that had witnessed the elopement of the truant pair or their recapture and the welcome addressed to them by the villagers on their return, would all constitute incidents of the Palai region.

46. உள்ளுறை யுவம மேனை யுவமமெனத்
தள்ளாதாகுந் திணையுணர் வகையே.

Suggestion and simile are the two modes
Which facilitate the proper apperception of tinais.

Suggestion which is only suppressed comparison and simile proper are the two main modes of speech recognized by Tolkappiar and the contents of a song couched in these forms serve to heighten the description or describe more graphically, some underlying idea of the utterer, which the person either is too proud to pronounce with his own lips or is desirous of dwelling on minutely. Thus for instance in the song,

"Here thus I stay and my beauty is sped
With that forest-chieftain, who resembles the fishing rod
Drawn deft by the fisherman, sure of his prey,
Which going up, suggests the bamboo of the glades
Released by the elephant, scared by the sound of the sling
From the far off guardians of ripened cornfields."
(*Kuruntokai* 54.)

"the forest-chieftain who resembles the fishingrod etc." is the plain avowed simile which serves to illuminate and paint to us in its entirety, the picture of the elephant

the true king of the forests, who having bent down the Bamboo, is frightened by the slingstones showered on it by the guards, releases it and retreats into the forest. This latter again, serves faithfully to bring home to us, the true figure of the cowardly lover, who frightend by the gossip of the village, leaves the lady, whose love he had erstwhile won and betakes himself to a stranger land. The elephant of the forest, stands for the forest-chieftain, his bending the bamboo to winning of the lady, the stones of the guards to the gossip and scandal bruited about and the releasing of the bamboo to the abandonment of the lady, the bamboo being the ladylove. Thus the simile serves to feed the suggestion which again helps to portray in a picturesque manner by its incisive touches, the true object sought to be conveyed by the speaker.

47. உள்ளுறை தெய்வ மொழிந்ததை நிலனெனக்
கொள்ளு மென்ப குறியறிந் தோரே.

Suggestion concerns itself with all environments
Other than the regional deity say the grammarians.

This section informs us how, whenever suggestive speech is indulged in, in *Sangham* poetry, it embraces within its scope all the several particulars described supra as being the environment, excepting the deity.

48. உள்ளுறுத் திதனோ டொத்துப்பொருண் முடிகென
வுள்ளுறுத் திறுவதை யுள்ளுறை யுவமம்.

Anything written with intent that the poet's idea should conform
In sense with what is predicated of environments is "suggestion."

This section defines the import of the suggestion of Tamil songs. It is by means of this suggestion that the poet, who does not like directly to express his ideas, is enabled to present certain sketches of the environments, which serves to reveal his mental picture.

49. ஏனை யுவமந் தானுணர் வகைத்தே.

Explicit comparison is explicitly worded.

Explicit comparison is simile, which does not require any effort of imagination to understand its meaning, the import of the passage being expressed in so many words.

50. காமஞ் சாலா விளமை யோள்வயி
னேமஞ் சாலா விடும்பை யெய்தி
நன்மையுந் தீமையு மென்றிரு திறத்தாற்
றன்னொடு மவளொடுந் தருக்கிய புணர்த்துச்
சொல்லெதிர் பெறாஅன் சொல்லி யின்புறல்
புல்லித் தோன்றுங் கைக்கிளைக் குறிப்பே.

Towards a maid of tender years, innocent of love
Having experienced an infatuation incurable,
Enlarging on one's innocence and the other's
cruelty
And dwelling on his state and hers successively,
Delighting in speech, though he gets not a reply,
Is the true characteristic of Kaikkilai love.

This section treats of some other incidents of Kaikkilai or unreciprocated love, an abnormal type of love. *Kalittokai* songs 56 to 58 are instances of Kaikkilai.

51. ஏறிய மடற்றிற மிளமை தீர்திறந்
தேறுத லொழிந்த காமத்து மிகுதிற
மிக்க காமத்து மிடலொடு தொகைஇச்
செப்பிய நான்கும் பெருந்திணைக் குறிப்பே.

Riding the palmhorse, being past the age of youth,
And being lost in a love past the stage of healing,
Reckoned along with other unbecoming acts,
Constitute the four phases of Peruntinai love.

This section treats of some incidents of Peruntinai love, another of the abnormal types. This comprehends the riding of the palmhorse, as different from mere declaration, the mutual incompatibility of lovers in their years, ungovernable love transports and the other lustful acts which go against the true character of love.

Kaikkilai and Peruntinai, as we noted before, referred to Asura, Rakshasa and Paisaca, and Brahma, Prajapatya, Arsha and Daiva respectively. Though these are their true characteristics, the poet here introduces certain other topics which, though they come up for treatment under these two headings could be treated of under Akattinaiyal. Kaikkilai and Peruntinai proper come up again for detailed treatment in Tolkappiam, Porul 105.

52. முன்னைய நான்கு முன்னதற் கென்ப.

Former four stages belong to the former, they say.

This lays down the characteristics of Kaikkilai, viewed from another aspect. It is interpreted in two ways by the two commentators Ilumpuranar, and Nacchinarkkiniar. The former four stages would refer according to Ilampuranar, to the stages immediately preceding those that have been mentioned in the previous aphorism. They are open solicitation prior to riding the palmhorse, praising the beauty of the lady who has not become past the age of youth, pining for union being the stage when he is still alive to his surroundings and not lost in love

past the stage of healing and cajoling before he embarks on violence. These, says the poet are the stages for Kaikkilai minor. But Nacchinarkkiniar would take it as referring to the four stages preceding mutuality viz. sight, misgiving, apperception and resolve. (vide. *Love-manners of the Tamils,* Sect. 2. Comments.) But whatever they might be, the true point of differentiation seems to be as Ilampuranar indicates, that in Kaikkilai, the predominent sentiment is fierce brutal pleasure, whereas pleasure in Peruntinai is tinged with regret and longing.

53. நாடக வழக்கினு முலகியல் வழக்கினும்
பாடல் சான்ற புலனெறி வழக்கங்
கலியே பரிபாட் டாயிரு பாங்கினு
முரிய தாகு மென்மனார் புலவர்.

In dramatic conventions and in worldly usage
Their depiction in songs, in the practice of poets
The Kali metre and the Paripadal also
Two metres are proper, say the learned.

This section gives the two metres that are considered appropriate for songs on love. The two metres that are specially chosen are the Kali and the Paripadal. These two metres are eminently adapted for lovesongs, whether they are concerned with the depiction of dramatic situations occurring in the course of love or with merely prosaic details of an ordinary quiet domestic life.

Dramatic situation or setting possibly requires to be explained here. It is a technical term used by Tamil grammarians to denote a highly artificial yet interesting situation in a particular setting with its appropriate essentials of time and place, environments and accordant loveactions, which serves fully to heighten the several

sentiments, purely a world of the poet's imagination. The worldly usage is what we are accustomed to in ordinary life as in the *Kuruntokai* song 167.

54. மக்க ணுதலிய வகனைந் திணையுஞ்
சுட்டி யொருவர்ப் பெயர்கொளப் பெறாஅர்.

In the fivefold varieties of love treating of men
Never is a hero mentioned by his proper name.

In Tamilian lovesongs, the hero is never referred to by name except by the peculiar appellations derived from his geographical surroundings. Thus he is invariably addressed as the lord of hills, the lord of forests, the lord of fields and so on. The Song,

"In the vast arena where the warriors sport,
And in those spots where the gladsome girls do dance.
Nowhere have I seen that supremely worthy lord.
I am like unto a stage-girl and he again,
Who hath thus loosened the bracelets in my arm,
He that prominent lord too, is like a stageboy."
(*Kuruntokai* 31.)

is the song of Adimandi who refers to her grief when she roamed about the land, searching for her lost husband. It is purely an Akam song, since the name of Attanatti, her husband, has not been introduced. If however the name had been introduced, it would have been a *Puram* song. Instances such as,

"Like Adimandi
To pine and grieve, dwelling on her woes."
(*Akananuru* 236.)

and, "Like Velliviti ever shall I roam."
(*Akananuru* 147.)

are not affected by this rule, since such names are adduced merely as illustrations.

55. புறத்திணை மருங்கிற் பொருந்தி னல்ல
தகத்திணை மருங்கி னளவுத லிலவே.

Unless they occur in conjunction with a life incident,
Names of people do not admit of treatment in "love."

This article, according to Illampuranar, prevents the mention of the names of heroes in the Kaikkilai and the Peruntinai songs also and allows their use in songs on "Life". According to Nacchinarkkiniar, it also prevents a multiplicity of heroes in lovesongs. A single hero and a single heroine alone figure in songs on love, whereas a number of heroes might be introduced in the Puram songs.

But as enjoined by the previous aphorism, names of heroes can occur in love-verses when they are introduced in comparisons, express or implied with regard to the environments of a song.

"And she is blooming beautiful, beaming as the Golden Idol,
That stands on Kolli of Ori, the chieftain of the woods,
Who lives on what the bright tusks of elephants yield,
And so are her bamboolike pearly arms hard to wed!"
(*Kuruntokai 100*)

Here the lady is compared to the Kolli statue belonging to Ori, whose career is incidentally dwelt on. And yet it is an Akam song, since his name is introduced only to facilitate a comparison.

II.

புறத் திணை யியல்.

On Life.

The previous chapter dealt with some general conditions governing " love " whilst this section concerns itself with depicting the conditions obtaining in the outer or the objective aspect of life. It is called "PURAM" the outer life and it comprehends all activities engaging the attention of a human being, other than the essentially psychic and imperceptible course of love, and which is therefore capable of being perceived by an outsider. It deals with extra-amorous life of an individual in general and more especially with war, its incidents and its fortunes and the conduct of States and Kingdoms. No aspect of life is overlooked and man's multifarious occupations are all brought in under one or the other of the subsections under this general heading of " Life."

" Man is a warring animal " is an age old attempt at defining man's being and this crude aphoristic declaration has a much wider import and is much truer than is ordinarily recognized. It affirms that man is essentially an animal, subject to its passions and humours and above all to that Nature-inspired and profoundly overpowering sexual stimulation, politely designated as " love " which is so necessary for the propogation of species. But if it indicates also how when that prime psychic necessity had been satisfied at perhaps a somewhat late stage in the evolution of human marriage by the proper regulation of loveusages and manners, and the well devised institution of marriage-rites, war, which originally was an instrument of erotic propitiation, both for the obtaining and the retention of a woman's person

and her love, became diverted to other channels, such as conquest and plunder and became so generally associated with such efforts at selfaggrandisement, that its origin being forgotten, it came to be posited as a second independant instinct altogether. Indeed war and love, seem now-a-days to be well and clearly differentiated, as being two distinct departments of human activity, worthy of honoured mention, as in the adage "All is fair, in love and war."

But, to one who has studied carefully the evolution of marriage in India, it would not seem surprizing if I say now, that war was the direct offspring of man's amatory inclinations and that love in fact begat, fed and nurtured war, though the child grew up later to be like monstrous Rakshasa children, seemingly as old as the mother herself. In fact, all ancient wars were waged either to win a lady's love, or to retain or more often to regain whenever lost, her possession. Our own Rama-Ravana war at Lanka and the Trojan war of Homer were both undertaken for the recovery of fair Sita and frail Helen. The later Mahabharata War, though begun through other causes, was precipitated and rendered inevitable by the vows of the proud Panchali. In fact, some of the earliest of the Rigvedic verses (cf Rigveda VI 26-6 etc.) portray a time when love did lend sharpness to the steel and when handsome maidens were siezed only after a bloody warfare.

It is not my intention here to speculate on the possible origin of warfare. I quite subscribe to the view that economic motives, thrust in prominently on man's mind by the struggle for existence entailing the fight for food and nourishment inspired originally the warring instinct, which gaining in strength during the

early pastoral stage in their struggle for pasturegrounds, became with the establishment of monarchies during the late pastoral period a perfected and well regulated institution. But the above remarks were dictated merely by the necessity to bring out the relation subsisting between the chapters on love and life in full. The Tamil seers realized fully that man was but a creature whose habits and tastes were moulded and dictated by his environment and that he was merely a product of Nature's handiwork. Love was dictated to him and its language and form interpreted to him by that kind and yet masterful Parent. War came in the footsteps of love in its earliest stages, when it was yet undifferentiated from a lust, which aimed at the mastery and possession of a fair female person. But that primitive lawlessness was checked by the institution of Courtship and marriage leading up to the family phase which gained strength with the growth of the monarchy and the state; and then the martial instincts implanted in man found out other avenues for its outlet, by substituting land and wealth for woman. And it is this later phase, that we are generally acquainted with and it is its incidents that form the contents of this chapter.

Let me now address myself to the text.

56. அகத்திணை மருங்கி னரிறப வுணர்ந்தோர்
புறத்திணை யிலக்கணந் திறப்படக் கிளப்பின்
வெட்சி தானே குறிஞ்சியது புறனே
யுட்குவரத் தோன்று மீரேழ் துறைத்தே.

If those who had clearly perceived the course of "love"
Should now proceed to unfold duly the course of "life"

Vetchi is reckoned the exact counterpart of *Kurinji*.
It has fourteen divisions, which are full fearsome.

This aphorism affirms how *vetchi* or the theme relating to the cattleraid, corresponds to the *kurinji* of love.

If those — — "*life*"=This indicates how a knowledge of the contents of the chapter on "love" is presumed on the part of the reader. In the previous chapter in Aph. 1. commenting on "primarily are reckoned five tinais", we observed how there was a corresponding set of seven tinais in the "life" also. (p.6.) These are the *vetchi, vanci, ulignai, tumpai, vakai, kanci,* and the *patan* tinais. This sub-section treats of *vetchi*.

Vetchi — — *kurinji*=Vetchi of "life" corresponds in all its particulars and incidents to the kurinji of "love". It partakes of all its characteristics, in that it is the stealthy cattleraid which is the main incident of this region and this corresponds to the stealthy love and courtship of the lovers. Both take place in a mountainous hilly tract and the time favourable for both these actions should clearly be the hour of midnight

It has — — *fearsome*=There are 14 sub-divisions recognized under the heading of vetchi. They are all incidents of the cattleraid which is attended with sporadic fight and occasional bloodshed which are something frightful to the more mild citizens such as the Brahmins, women and the like.

Vetchi is the badge of cattleraides and came through that virtue to signify the raid.

We observed in the foregoing chapter how there was a distinct "language of flowers" adopted the world

over for expressing one's innermost thoughts of love and how the aesthetic Tamils chose to communicate to each other their sentiments in flowery expressions. In this chapter we find how the artistic Tamils adopted a similar language of flowers with regard to their military operations as well. "Love" and "life" comprised a man's entire activity and what applied to one was sought to be applied to the other also from a sense of symmetry and so garlands of flowers indicative of the nature of one's objective and undertaking, were worn by Tamil soldiers of old and it is this practice, necessitated also by the need for a distinctive mark which would serve to identify the opposing combatants, that has come down to us as the distinguishing badges for contesting forces. Students of History would perhaps be reminded at once of the English Wars of the Roses, so named from the red and the white roses, chosen by the opposing houses of York and Lancaster. The Ramayana similarly tells us, how Sri Rama bade Sugriva deck himself in gajapushpi flowers in his fight with Vali.

The *Vetchi* is the "Flame of the Forest" (*Ixora Coccinia*) which is said to bear a profusion of scarlethued flowers, which are of a dazzling brightness. It was intended possibly for striking terror in the hearts of men, for the people that wear this are the "cattle-raiders." Red is the colour disported by invading foemen and its coloration effect is clearly brought out thus by Yrjo Hirn. Writing on the close Interrelation subsisting between Art and War, he observes "The Red colour, so often used in military dress, tends, on the other hand, to arouse increased vigour by direct physiological as well as by suggestive action. Perhaps also, as some old authors suggest, the use of red may

have had a negative importance by concealing the wounds and the blood, which else might depress the men and encourage the enemies." (Yrjo Hirn: Origins of art. p. 270—271.) Red flaming eyes, red swollen face and tremor on limbs are also instances of instinctive warring coloration, naturally found amongst human beings, denoting the anger and the martial pride of persons.

The Cattleraiders ascertain by means of spies the security or otherwise of the villages of the enemy and as cattle constituted (cf. Lat. *pecunia*=money from *pecu*=cattle) their chief wealth, seek to capture them. They serry forth from city walls at midnight and when the villagers are lying asleep, untether their cattle and carry them away to their own strongholds. It is this stealthy character of their march, the midnight hour the mountain gorges through which the cattle is driven away that renders *Vetchi* the counterpart of Kurinji in the "PURAM."

The martial stimuli afforded by the Kurinji mountainland environment are easily recognized. Mr. L. W. Lyde expresses himself to the following effect in his elementary text *Man and his market*. "In this connection, however, more attention might be paid to the effect of mountain air and mountain bulk. Even for temporary use as sanatoriaeg. at Palumpore in the Kangra valley, or at Utakamand among the Nilgiri Hills, mountains are of course, very valuable in tropical and semitropical climates. But, when they are a permanent home of the people, their exhilarating air induces a spirit and a physical energy which are a good equipment for life. Such spirit and energy may easily pass into a love of war and even ferocity, as they did amongst the High-

landers of the Grampians and the Mahrattas of the Western Ghats; and in that case, the bulk and the formation of the mountains at once assume a special importance." (P. 5 & 6.)

The author refers to the various acts under this head as "fearsome" or frightful, as the nocturnal hour of the raid and the fierce savagery of the looks of these marauders as they march wreathed in scarlet blooms, strike terror into the hearts of men.

57. வேந்துவிடு முனைஞர் வேற்றுப்புலக் களவி
னாதந் தோம்பன் மேவற் றாகும்.

Stealthy march in enemy's realms, by frontier chiefs at kings' commands
And the siezure of cattle and their protection also are *vetchi* actions.

This describes *vetchi* actions which consist of cattle lifting and their secure appropriation later by the raiders, the preliminary for war amongst all ancient nations.

War in later times was undertaken as we know for a diversity of causes such as greed for country, achieving fame by personal prowess, or for asserting one's supremacy as an overlord. But strange as it may seem, acquisition of territory seems not to have influenced the Tamil monarchs over much since we find the continuation of the three-fold monarchy of the Tamil country, from the earliest days of authentic records to the late 12th or 13th century, A. D- Tolkappiam which is by far the earliest of the records that could be relied on for the reconstruction of South Indian culture and history, refers to these three monarchies of the South in Tol-

merits of the translation. The readers themselves, and the world of scholars are the best judges on that head. But we would affirm that a perusal of Tolkappiam, would supply a solution to many vexed problems confronting the research of the anthropologist, the ethnographist and the orientalist. The speculations of the most modern of scientists are being anticipated here and correct solutions offered The history of human marriage is being detailed here at length and suggestions regarding the origin of races broadly thrown out. Ch. Letourneau, Drs. Westermarck and Havelock Ellis! How gladly would they have welcomed such a publication years ago!

As regards the comments, if even that Prince amongst *Commentators—Nacchinarkkiniar should be accused of* having been unable to sense aright portions of this text, the terrible responsibility undertaken by any venturesome modern Commentator should become easily apparent. This is the opinion of the late lamented scholar T. Chelvakesavaroya Mudaliar on Nacchinarkkiniar's performance. 'கால வேறுபாட்டில் ஏற்பட்ட இலக்கியங்களையும் தேசாசார குலாசாரங்களையும், நச்சினார்க்கினியர் தொல்காப்பியத்தோடு இடர்ப்பட்டு பொருத்திவிட்டதனால், சில துரபிப்பிராயங்கள் எழுந்து உலவுவனவாய் வீண் வாதங்களை உண்டாக்கிவிட்டன" But, the author here has striven to steer clear of such difficulties by adhering strictly to the scientific researcher's attitude.

An impartial testimony from the pen of the aesthetic scholar, Dr. C. Srikanta M. A. D. Litt of Ceylon reproduced below would give some idea of the standard sought to be maintained by this work. Writes he in a letter to this author. " It contains a mine of good things; it would really be difficult, to, conceive a volume on "*Porul*" more stimulating. It is the most considerable work on the subject that has yet appeared in English. The book gives evidence everywhere of wide acquaintance with the subject. Almost every page will be found helpful and suggestive to the student as well as the scholar."

Porul. Pura. 60. and we have very late inscriptions in S. India to inform us of their separate existence at such a recent date as the 13th century. Taking 800 B. C. as the approximate date of Tolkappiam, for a space of well over 2100 years, the three monarchs of the Tamil land had not chosen to tresspass on each other's realms or strive to extirminate the other. Such indeed was their righteousness and charity.

But to resume our topic, war under these circumstances was merely an opportunity afforded unto the martial spirits in the land, for the exercise and the development of martial virtues or for achieving supremacy in rank. And the declaration of hostilities always assumed the shape of cattle lifting.

Stealthy .... realms=This stealthy march is, like the secret mating in kurinji love, also righteous, since possibly "all is fair in war and love." Its unseemliness is removed by the fact that it is only the commencement of hostilities, when, not much of an undue advantage accrues to the raider. The real issue however is fought out subsequently and there the victory gained affirms the worthiness and the righteousness of the parties.

By frontier .... command=It is under the instructions issued unto them by their overlords that the chieftains appointed to guard the frontier regions enter the foeman s territory. They might do it on their own account also, whenever they catch the enemy napping. But no definite annexation of stranger lands was made as the hunger for land was not definitely present.

And the .... protection =This indicates how in the war fought in those days, there was scope for the play

of charity and virtue. In all their pillage and looting the Tamil soldiers were careful not to slaughter or hurt the cattle or in any way injure the crops. The old and the maimed were ordered to retreat and shelter themselves behind rampart walls, as also women who had not borne children. There is a fine verse from Purananuru quoted by Nacchinarkkiniar to illustrate this feature. Translated it runs,

Soft-natured kine ! Ye priests that resemble them in your piety !
Dames of the city ! Ye sick ones ! And ye dames who have not
Borne golden babes to render unto the departed denizens
Of the south, ceremonial libations! We will shortly shower
Our arrows ! Retreat ye behind your battlements !
Long live our Pandya, Lord Muthu kudumi, whose valiant men,
Thus announcing their avowed march, righteous ever fight !

(Puram. 9.)

This charitable nature of our combatants, which was an all-India feature has been noticed by Megasthenes also of old. He observes "There are usages observed by the Indians which contribute to prevent the occurrence of famine among them ; for whereas, among other nations, it is usual in the contests of war, to ravage the the soil and thus reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisburbed by any sense of danger,

for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees." (Megasthenes: Indian Frag. I.)

Thus, the protection of cattle and old and infirm people is also an incident of *velchi*. The text has in the original an expression "*alantompal*" (ஆதந்தோம்பல்) which would stand both for the capture and the return or release of cattle at the sweet will and pleasure of either the raider himself or his overlord. Their recpture by owners in fair fight by defeating the raiders is "*Karanthai*" (*basil*) sometimes called also *vetchikkaranthai*.

This sutra is also important to us as showing how war was an incident begotten of a society that by emerging to pastoral stage came to found society and state and so lay the beginnings of a political organisation with a Chieftainship or a Royalty at its head. That shepherds became kings later, is confirmed by the Tamil tradition which affirms that the shepherd race was in rank and precedence second only to the family of the Pandya kings. (cf. Kalittokai songs. CIV. lines 4-6; song CV. line 7.) This fact is affirmed by G. Lowes Dickinson, who in his highly suggestive and interesting monograph on "The cause of International War" observes "All the known facts suggest that economic motives were at the bottom of the process For instance, disputes about hunting grounds are a primitive cause for fighting, where different communities are settled in the same neighbourhood. Such causes of dispute are likely to be more common and more serious, where tribes in the pastoral stage of civilization, wander far over long distances between their summer and winter quarters, as for many thousands

of years has happened in the steppes of Asia and Eastern Europe. Disputes of this kind would develop the readiness to fight and the weapons and tactics of a rude kind of war. But, further, under the precarious conditions of this kind of life, a bad season, and the perishing of beasts on a large scale, may leave a tribe face to face with the choice between starving and stealing from others. Hence, wars for subsistence leading on naturally to the habit of war for plunder." (p. 17-18). The gradual evolution of the medieval notions regarding war from these primitive beginnings, he also notes, when he says further on, "War has reached its apotheosis. It has passed from being a blind necessity fallen into by primitive and hungry men to being the only purpose of life conceivable for men held to be civilized and noble." (ibid. P. 22). Parasara lays down a high code of chivalry and pays high laud to those laying down their lives in a just cause. (cf. Parasara Smrithi III Vs. 31-40) To such transports indeed has this primitive instinct led men!

58. படையியங் கரவம் பாக்கத்து விரிச்சி
புடைகெடப் போகிய செலவே புடைகெட
வொற்றி னாகிய வேயே வேய்ப்புற
முற்றி னாகிய புறத்திறை முற்றிய
வூர்கொலை யாகோள் பூசன் மாற்றே
நோயின் றுய்த்த னுவலுழித் தோற்றந்
தந்துநிறை பாதீ டுண்டாட் டுக்கொடையென
வந்த வீரேழ் வகையிற் றாகும்.

The tramp of the marching army, waiting for omens in parks,
The onward march unknown to foemen, similar secret

Espying of stranger climes by scouts, and the
encamping
After presents bestowed on spies, slaughter
in besieged towns,
The siezure of cattle, the changing fortunes
of the fray,
The driving of cattle across the worlds, the
warrior's joyous return,
The homebringing of herds, division of spoils,
feasts and gifts,
Thus fourteen-fold duly is the *Vetchi* raid
depicted.

This section treats of the fourteen kinds of *Vetchi* actions, which are the incidents of a cattleraid.

The tramp—army=We saw in the previous aphorism, how the foray commenced with the command of the monarch, to the effect that a particular village was to be raided. His commands which are communicated to the generals and soldiers, athirst for war, the mobilization of forces, the hastening of soldiers eager to join the expedition the noise of revelry as the warriors dance delighted at the prospect of war, after quaffing freely of the goblets of wine lavishly supplied at the canteen, and the tramp of footsoldiers are all referred to here.

The waiting—in parks=With all their martial virtues, the Tamils were great believers in omens. They believed in the science of augury and astrology and they never commenced any act without consulting the astrologer. Just before embarking on the raid, the soldiers betake themselves

to a grove and there having meditated on God, throw a handful of flowers and fried rice and wait for chance words which by their import would indicate the success or otherwise of the expedition. Sometimes women do it. We hear in the Mullaippattu of the aged matrons of the palace, who repair to the outskirts of the guarded city and stand there awaiting the words of omen with folded hands, after having offered unto the deity a measure of paddy and a handful of sweet-smelling jasmine flowers. It would seem that these prognosticators were handsomely rewarded by being given a portion of the spoils after the succesful conclusion of their undertaking.

The onward march—foemen=The secret march of the raiders, unobserved by the spies of the foemen, who infest the country. We saw how every cattleraid was begun only after a well-thought-out plan and programme of war. Cattle lifting was not the supreme or the sole objective of the invader, as it was only an action indicative of the opening of hostilities, supplying the place of the ultimatum of later days. These were embarked on only after carefully considering the exact state of the enemy, his resources and the disposition of the people towards him, as revealed by the reports furnished by the spies. To this end, espionage was extensively had recourse to by the ancient monarchs, so much so, that one was not sure whether one's neighbour was his friend or the spy sent by the enemy state. It was thus necessary that one's

movements should be very secret and this section therefore refers to the guarded march of the invading band, unknown to the watchful spies that surrounded them. Kautilya deals in extenso with the system of espionage in his Arthasastra.

Secret—scouts = Apart from the general report of spies, reconnoitring troops and scouts are despatched ahead, before the actual raid is begun, to spy the enemy's position, to mark the weak points in the defence and to note the behaviour of the troops.

And the encamping—spies = The scouts or spies who return with the news regarding the position and the strength of the enemy and his defence are handsomely rewarded and it is only after gratifying these trustworthy servants that any operation is begun. The principle of keeping the army and the intelligence department in the state well contented by constant gifts and liberal remuneration was recognized by all ancient thinkers. After this is over, the invaders start and encamp themselves around the enemy country.

Slaughter in—towns = Though as a rule, the Tamils avoided reckless carnage and avoided shedding the blood of women, children and aged, though they were prudent enough to pitch their battles on wasteland and the threshing common, so as not to disturb the agricultural pursuits of people, and though they more often took the heads of cattle alive, they could not so spare the

enemy soldiers. The maiming and the slaying of the enemy constituted the essence of all warfare and was an unavoidable necessity, on which depended the victory and success in a battle and therefore is the carnage resulting from the slaughtering of the men in the enemy's stronghold allowed in this section.

The siezure of cattle = The objective of the cattleraid was the siezure of the foeman's cattle, which was the beginning of all ancient wars. The cattle was the chief form of wealth and was captured by the victorious as spoils of war. That this constituted for the ancients, the most coveted form of wealth and as such was subjected to loot is shown by the Rigvedic songs relating to these raids and also by the latin expression for wealth viz. *pecunia* derived from the Indo Aryan *Pecu* meaning cattle related philologically to the Sanskrit *Pasu*. This proves also incidentally that it was the pastoral age that helped the evolution of kingship the world over.

The changing—fray = At the time of the cattleraid, as and when, the cattle herds are being driven away across the borderland, the clansmen muster together and strive to deprive the enemy of their spoils by putting up a strenuous effort to recapture them. For long, the combatants hover about, fighting confusedly around the herds. The issue is for a long time undecided. It might be that the foemen are able in the end to repulse all attacks and victorious, march away with the herds. Or it is possible also that the defenders might be able to recover their cattle,

an incident which later grammarians would bring under *Karanthai*.

The driving—wolds=The driving away of the herds, of cattle after vanquishing the guardsmen or the driving away of the cattle by a portion of the force, as another division keeps fighting against the rescuers and prevents their recapture. The captors choose a deliberately hazardous path, so that they might not be easily pursued.

The warrior's joyous return=The return of the warrior with the captured cattle greatly to the delight of the women and the children who acclaim and welcome him with joy praising his valour For the rejoicing in the city, as the citizens await the arrival of the hero, cf.

"Unearth the red rich wine and slay a fat ram
Underneath the slenderposted roofing of green leaves!
Lavish strew the fresh white sand yielded by the rivers!
My lord hath vanquished the van of foemen hordes,
And returns home with the captured herd, guarding their rear
But his attendants are even more fatigued than my lord himself

[*Purananuru—262*]

The homebringing of herds=This is attended with much festive glee as seen above.

Division of spoils=The booty is then distributed as amongst the soldiers, the augurs and the spies fairly in accordance with their deserts.

Feasts=Merrymaking The dance of the warriors to the sweet sound of the jingling anklet-bells, after partaking of the toddy lavishly poured out to them, and the gladsome feast spread out are all referred to here.

Gifts=Plenty is the mother of liberality. Out of the rich booty gained from the enemy, a portion is reserved for being gifted away to worthy recipients and the gods. The needy poor in the community have heads of cattle bestowed on them by the generous prince, as he also had stood by and possibly had by his lusty cheering enthused his men. The priests who had furthered their cause with their blessings and *Korravai*, the dread Goddess of War, who had ensured their victory, become also entitled to a share of the spoils. Thus, votive offerings benefactions to the poor and the fees to the priests and preceptors, all seem to be contemplated by this section.

This section deals with the actions relating to the cattleraiders, who march forth, wearing wreaths of *Vetchi*. The monarch desiring war, summoned his, generals and bade them repair to the enemy's country and sieze their cattle. The soldiery is then called in and some sort of a mobilising of forces takes place. The augurers in the meanwhile consult together and wait for omens. And when these astrologers had favourably reported on the auspices, the raiders commenced their secret nocturnal march. The report of the spies is then presented and considered. The cattlelifters surround the village, and set fire to buildings slaughtering the men. And as the village is thus attacked of a sudden,

the village soldiery is nonplussed awhile, not being able to decide on any plan of action. Then are the cattle untethered from their posts and driven away. The village guardsmen in the meanwhile assemble and seek to repel these raiders and preserve their property. But the marauding hosts prove too strong. They rout the villagers and reach their village boundaries in safety with the herds. The whole village turns out to a man, to welcome with glee, the hero of the hour, who enters the village enclosure along with the raided herds. Then a division of spoils takes place and with a feast which is concluded with gifts and rewards, bestowed away on a lavish scale, the incidents of the cattle raid are rounded off.

But an attack always entails a defence and the defence comprises also a similar set of fourteen incidents. The warriors of the raided village, muster together, as in the case of the raiders, making a huge noise and serry forth from their strongholds. They might similarly consult the augurers and await omens, march secretly in pursuit, spy out in turn and reconnoitre the movements of the enemy. Then the march, the slaughter of the invading hosts, the recapture of their cattle, the joyous return to their homesteads, the bringing in of the cattle into the village enclosure, their redistribution to their several owners, the division and apportionment of any extra spoil they might have captured in the course of their reprisals, riotous feasting and the gifting away to the Gods, the sages, the priests and the poor, also occur. These incidents belonging as they do to the defenders or rescuers are being brought under a separate heading called the *Karanthai* by later grammarians. The Purapporal-venba-malai of Iyan-Arithan treats of them under a separate chapter. But

as Tolkappiar does not choose to mention *Karanthai* as a separate division, Nacchinarkkiniar brings them all together under the *Vetchi* thereby bringing up its incidents to twenty-eight in number, fourteen for the raiders and a similar number for the defence. This view of Nacchinarkkiniar is countenanced also by such a high authority as Vaidyanatha Desika, whose grammar the Ilakkana-Vilakkam has been lauded as Kutti-t-Tolkappiam or the diminutive Tolkappiam as being a fair exponent of its discipline.

A compromise is effected by some by calling this defensive attitude Vetchi-k-karanthai or the Karanthai brought on by Vetchi action. The raid, the defence, and the counterraid form the incidents dwelt on here and it is logical to consider the whole as a raid simply, without more, thus, justifying the name of *Vetchi*.

59. மறங்கடைக் கூட்டிய குடிநிலை சிறந்த
கொற்றவை நிலையு மத்திணைப் புறனே.

An ancestry reputed for valour and the glory
Of the Goddess Korravai form exceptions to
this rule.

This section describes how stanzas detailing the noble ancestry of a hero renowned for martial exploits and verses describing Korravai the Goddess, who confers Victory on hosts, are also to be taken under the Vetchi classification. The former aphorism posited fourteen actions belonging to *vetchi* and this adds two more to the list.

Nacchinarkkiniar reads "*tudinilai*" (துடிநிலை) instead of *kudinilai* (குடிநிலை) and opines that the verses describing the drummer boy who sounds the drum according to ancient usage, are meant here. The reading I have here

adopted is based on Ilampuranam and is preferable in that the expression is wide enough to embrace the eulogies addressed to the drummer boy also who continued the mode of his ancestors in sounding the drum. This is also supported by the practise obtaining in Purananuru and other Puram works which bring together verses uttered in praise of one's ancestry under *vetchi*.

Kudinilai songs are further divided into *mutinmullai* மூதின் முல்லை)and *illanmullai*, (இல்லான் முல்லை)the immortal unfading jasmin and the jasmin paterfamiliae according as they describe a valiant lady or a brave hero. Songs such as,

" Confusion sieze my mind ! Her boldness indeed
is terrible,
Befitting a matron of the warrior's tribe !
'Twas but the other day when in the fight her sire
Dealt death to an elephant and died in the field
And but yesterday in the thick of the fight, her husband
Withstood the marauding hosts and bravely fell
And today, as she hears the mustering drum
With confused mind yet delighted, she puts a lance
In his arm, clothes him in white, combs his locks
And though he is but her only son, smiles sweet
And bids him march, straight to the battle field."

(Purananuru 279).

are instances of the former.

Ilampuranar, here remarks that the dread Goddess Durga became also the patron deity of Kurinji hillcountry, in addition to Lord Muruga, as she is brought in, under this *Vetchi* heading, *Kurinji* being the land of and the counterpart of *Vetchi*.

60. வெறியறி சிறப்பின் வெவ்வாய் வேலன்
வெறியாட் டயர்ந்த காந்தளு முறுபகை
வேந்திடை தெரிதல் வேண்டி யேந்து புகழ்ப்
போந்தை வேம்பே யாரென வரூஉ
மாபெருந் தானையர் மலைந்த பூவும்
வாடா வள்ளி வயவ ரேத்திய
ஓடாக் கழனிலை யுளப்பட வோடா
உடல்வேந் தடுக்கிய வுன்ன நிலையும்
மாயோன் மேய மன்பெருஞ் சிறப்பிற்
றாவா விழுப்புகழ்ப் பூவை நிலையும்
ஆரம ரோட்டலு மாபெயர்த்துத் தருதலுஞ்
சீர்சால் வேந்தன் சிறப்பெடுத் துரைத்தலும்
தலைத்தா ணெடுமொழி தன்னொடு புணர்த்தலும்
மனைக்குரி மரபினது கரந்தை யன்றியும்
வருதார் தாங்கல் வாள்வாய்த்துக் கவிழ்தலென்
றிருவகைப் பட்ட பிள்ளை நிலையும்
வாண்மலைந் தெழுந்தோனை மகிழ்ந்து பறைதூங்க
நாடவற் கருளிய பிள்ளை யாட்டும்
காட்சி கல்கோ ணீர்ப்படை நடுதல்
சீர்த்தகு மரபிற் பெரும்படை வாழ்த்தலென்
றிருமூன்று மரபிற் கல்லொடு புணரச்
சொல்லப்பட்ட வெழுமூன்று துறைத்தே.

The dance of the VELAN the diviner of the will of gods
And cruelmouthed, called the kandal, and the flowers
Worn to distinguish the several monarchs being chaplets
Of the famous palm, margosa and the atti, worn
By the supreme Lords of hosts in the Tamil land,
The unfading VALLI dance, and dance for the glory

Of the ankleted hero who never fled, praised
of heroes, and songs
Addressed to the UNNAM tree, enquiring
the fortunes of their lord,
The PUVAI songs which attribute Vishnu's
protective power
Brahma's creative energy and Siva's annihilation to the King,
Inflicting defeat on monarchs and the recovering of cattle
Attributing regal splendour to a magnanimous
hero
Vowing unto one's self to win due guardian
for valour
And the Karanthai actions consequent on the
Vetchi
And the repulsing of the enemy's front and
death after glorious feats
The two kinds of praise describing the hero's
stand
And to the accompaniment of merry drums
lusty roaring
Honouring the youthful scion and conferring
lands
Seeking out, fixing, lustrating, and setting up
And holding feasts with due praising and
celebration
These six rites performed with the stone, all
told
Twentyone are the divisions further depicted.

This describes twentyone other themes, that come also under this classification, being treated of as *Karanthai*, which is but the obverse of *Vetchi* action. These also occur in the Kurinji hilltract.

The dance — — kandal=This kandal was a war dance pertaining to Puram and different from the dance at the shrine of Muruga performed by the velan for removing the evil spirits that sometimes are said to possess young women. The Velan's dance occurs in Akam songs frequently. He is supposed to be able to divine the inmost thoughts of Gods and especially to Lord Muruga, whose temple priest he was, and when the ignorant ladies of the household betake themselves to him, and beseech him to intercede in their favour, he used to cry out for an offering of goats and other animals and hence the author calls him cruelmouthed. The dance here is something different from that spirit-dispelling dance. It is executed in honour of Lord Muruga, who is the God of War and warriors for procuring victory and in these dances performed by jewelled ladies or ankletted heroes, it is the *Velan* priest that starts the round. In this dance, the priest puts on a profusion of Kandal flowers and hence the dance came to be called by that flowername. Since the author refers only to *Velan,* it would seem that the dance was originally executed by the priest alone, though later, all the people seem to have become entitled to its performance. The *Vettuvavari* or the Hunter's dance inSilappadhikaram is a happy illustration of such a dance for ensuring success.

And the flowers — — Tamil land=We saw before how particular flowers were enjoined to be worn on particular occasions, to distinguish the combatants. This section shows how there

were separate flowers worn by the three Tamil monarchs of the south. We know that the Tamil land was ruled over by the three monorchs, Chera, Chola, and Pandya and how all the chieftains and lesser lords in the land owed allegiance to one or the other of these. These three monarchs had each a distinctive wreath, the palm leaf chaplet for the Chera, the margosa for the Pandya and the atti for the Chola, which was worn by him and his immediate vassals, in addition to the garland indicative of the particular warmode in which they are engaged. This aphorism is interesting to us also, in that it parcels out even at the age of Tolkappiar, the Tamil country as amongst the three royal families which were in power and in uninterrupted possession of the country, up to comparatively recent times.

The unfading Valli dance=Valli is the name of a creeper, commonly known as the sweet potato vine and is seasonally cultivated. The unfading *Valli* therefore stands for the dance of that name. Possibly this dance was instituted in honour of Goddess Valli, the consort of Lord Muruga. This was most popular with the women and the patriotic Tamil matrons indulged in it, praising in diverse strains the benevolence of that Goddess, who brought prosperity and victory to the country.

And the dance for — — heroes=This is a dance held to celebrate the glory of a youthful warrior that did not turn his back from the field of battle. Nacchinarkkiniar informs us that both

men and women participated in this dance. The comments of Nacchinarkkiniar seem to indicate the case of a hero, who being of youthful years had not yet gained any recognition in the shape of a hero's anklet or a grant of land and whose preeminance is being recognized now for the first time.

And also songs— — Lord = The *unnam* is a tree, diminutive in size, with golden flowers and tiny leaves on slender stems endowed with divining powers, in that it was believed to put forth new shoots whenever there was to be victory to the monarch of the land, being questioned thereon, and to wither away whenever there was to be disaster. Tamil warriors of old used to consult this tree first before they embarked on war. Offerings also seem to have been made to this tree, to secure its kind offices. Ilampuranar would bring under this section all other cases of prognostications also.

The puvai songs — — king = These are songs in which the King is compared to the high Gods in respect of his prowess. The Manusmriti tells us how a monarch is fashioned from out of the excellences of the guardian deities. cf Manusmriti VII. 3—12.

Ilampuranar gives a natural explanation of this subsection. *Puvai* is the Kaya tree growing in the forests on the hillside bearing a profusion of blue coloured flowers, which vie on that account with the colour of Vishnu. The soldiers are marching along the defiles when they see these flowers and at once their poetic

instinct and love of nature assert themselves and they praise the flower saying it bore the hue of the dark-featured Lord of Protection.

Possibly at a later stage, when the juridical texts of the sanskritists had gained favour with the Tamils, the notion grew that the King was the visible representative of the invisible Gods in heaven and when they sang of the Puvai, they sang also of Vishnu, whose viceroy on earth was their particular king. By an extension of such apotheosis, the king came to be compared with Siva, Indra, Baladeva, Muruga and the other Gods also. Ilampuranar brings together verses illustrative of this position also, though he would give a first place to the natural explanation given above.

The deification of the monarch is natural also. The protective power of the monarch supplied for the poets a theme of comparison with Vishnu, the preeminent protector. That he was the dispenser of all wealth and life, and the inspirer of the energies of a nation made him comparable to the Creator. His death-dealing power placed him on a pedestal equal to that of the dread Lord of Destruction whilst his valour suggested a comparison with Lord Muruga.

This apotheosis of the Indians is nothing compared with what we find obtaining amongst the Ancient Egyptians and the primitive races. The Kings of Egypt were deified in their lifetime, sacrifices were offered to them, and their worship was celebrated in special temples and by special priests. They claimed to be the "Great God," the "Golden Horus," and the "Son of Ra," the Sun God and their titles were derived from those of the Sun. The Peruvian monarchs were similarly the children

of the Sun. The Inca was revered like a god on earth and when his end was approaching, people always said that a messenger from the Sunfather had come to him, asking him to come and rest with him. The Babylonian monarchs of the fourth dynasty at Ur had actually temples built in their honour. With primitive tribes such apotheosation is so common that it scarcely appears striking to us. [For an exhaustive treatment and explanation of this phenomenon consult Sir J. G. Frazer's magnum opus The Golden Bough Vol. II. The Evolution of Kings.]

Inflicting — — monarchs=Verses describing how a monarch or a hero withstood an attack from or inflicted a crushing victory on, the opposing forces.

Recovering of cattle=This includes the recovery, re distribution and gifting away of cattle recovered and also of cattle captured from the enemy The dances and feasts held for purposes of thanksgiving would also be had here. Nacchinarkkiniar opines that other kinds of booty might also be brought in under this heading and gives an illustrative verse descriptive of Pulli's capture of elephant hordes in support of his view.

Attributing — — hero = This refers according to Nacchinarkkiniar to the laudation addressed to a particular hero, in which he is compared to and eulogised as a king, whereas Ilampuranar would take it merely as applicable to songs praising a monarch. Both are right, and both adduce verses bearing out their explanations.

Vowing — — valour = This has reference to the many monologues or soliloquies indulged in by a warrior in which he gives vent to his high ambitions.

And the — — Vetchi = And also the various actions that occur in the course of the foray, as being those undertaken by the defenders, being acts that are induced by Vetchi. These actions are seven, of which four are the four sub-sections immediately above and three are those immediately following.

And also—hero's stand = Songs describing how a hero singly withstood the attack of the van of the enemy, and how after performing prodigious deeds of valour and slaying the enemy he sank drilled through by the foemen's arrows, faint through many a swordcut, would both come under this heading.

And to the accompaniment—land = The grant of land and other honours bestowed on a valiant youth of royal blood in appreciation of his wonderful prowess on the battlefield. It might also refer to a case when the chieftain or monarch of the land having died on the field of battle, the assembled warriors seek out a royal youth who had shown incomparable valour on the field of battle and acclaim him with one accord as such chieftain or monarch. In this sense, the aphorism is interesting to us as evidencing a stage in South Indian polity when the voice of the people was powerful enough to decide the

question of even royal succession, a power recognized only very lately amongst the progressive nations of the West.

Ilampuranar seems however inclined to take it that this subsection extols merely the death of a warrior after a display of prodigious valour, the land bestowed on him being the heavenly regions which are held out to warriors, who lay down their lives for a just cause. The funerals of such heroes would always be attended with much pomp and splendour and his praise will be sung on all hands, to the accompaniment of the drum dance and music. This view should be held to be more logical, as the subsequent subsections deal with further acts of commemorating the memory of such a hero by setting up his image in stone.

Seeking out—the stone=Six rites are enjoined in connection with the setting up of memorial stones and six more according to Nacchinarkkiniar before such stone becomes deified. It must be remembered that the ancient Tamils looked upon all heroes as being divinely imbued and considered that a warrior who gave up his life fighting for his country, worthy of all divine honours A stone image was set up in his honour, temples were built and dedicated to him, annual and seasonal festivals were started, and offerings and prayers were offered to him. The many *Aiyanar* temples in the country with a host of mud horses and elephants owe their existence to this practice, being but edifices reared to commemorate such slain heroes, and the numberless shrines spread over the land should indicate the strong hold that such hero's memory had effected on the popular imagination Tamil Sangham literature abounds in references to such images. A soldier hurrying to the wars, the

husbandman desiring plenteous harvests and a villager praying to be cured of his malady, all address their petitions to him, and are favourably answered. Thus these gods grow in power and importance daily.

The six rites referred to are 1. Searching the stone 2. fixing 3. lustrating 4. setting up 5. celebration and 6. praising and Nacchinarkkiniar would in his ingenuity duplicate this set of six by prescribing one set for the stone before installation and the other set after such ceremonious setting up. *Searching for the stone.* Iconographical works give definite specifications regarding the size and nature of the stone in which is to be graven images of both gods and men. And with the stone thus selected, an image is carved out and after such carving, the idol is examined afresh to see if the finished figure satisfies the rules of the texts. Thus there is a double selection After this the idol is set up and consecrated. *Fixing*: Ilampuranar differs from Nacchinarkkiniar in his reading of this subsection. He has "கல்கோள்" meaning the siezure of the particular stone, selected, fort he image whilst the otherreads "கால்கோள்" meaning fixing up the particular auspicious hour for carrying the stone to its final resting place. *Lustration*: Bathing the stone selected ceremoniously with fragrant and sacred waters. This bathing occurs very many times, primarily when the stone has been selected before carving and secondarily when the carving is finished. *Setting up*: planting the stone in an upright position. *Celebration*: According to Ilampuranar this has reference only to the rearing of buildings for the shrine. Nacchinarkkiniar would explain it as relating to the act of recording the deeds of the hero by engraving it on the stone. *Praise*: Honouring the stone image by deifying it and addressing prayers to it.

Nacchinarkkiniar adds another set of six acts as occuring after the consecration. They are duly the first sight of the image after setting it up, the fixing up or awaiting the auspicious hour when the spirit of the hero should be introduced into it, bathing it making it ritually pure, fixing up the spirit in the stone by ceremonial consecratory acts, endowing the shrine and the fixing up of a calendar of festivals and rituals to be celebrated in honour of the deity and finally uttering praises and prayers to the deity that has now come to reside in that image.

Readers would have no difficulty here in recognizing the simplicity and naturalness of Ilampuranar's comments. He adverts to the acts leading up to the installation as they occur in their logical order of choosing a stone, bringing it, carving it, bathing it, setting it up, endowing it and uttering prayers to it when its divinity had become established.

All told — — depicted=Thus there are twentyone other irregular items also belonging to *Vetchi*, seven relating to the incident of the raid and defence, six relating to the installation of the memorial stone and eight others relating to dances and songs. These Vetchi acts are also common to the *Karanthai* or the defence, as all these items are applicable to the band of rescuers also.

This section enumerates a further set of twentyone acts to the sixteen already referred to. These sections are only descriptive and enumerative than definitive and therefore scope is afforded for further incidents being brought in under these groups.

Apart from such enumeration, this section is important to us as affording a clue to the origins of the South Indian Temple. It has long been recognized that it was.

hero-worship that was at the bottom of all mythological and religious laudation and as there is no text as such declaring affirmatively the relation subsisting between the worship of a dead hero and the springing up of a god in his place, these references to the acts of apotheosis, are welcome to us, as supplying an authoritative solution and throwing a lurid light on, a vexed question long unsettled. Frazer's Golden Bough sought first to trace all religious practices to a primitive human endeavour to simulate natural phenomena and all religious notions and myths to the confused working of a magically inclined intellect obsessed by false analogy, directed towards Nature and its workings. But he himself seems to have been converted later to the orthodox and in the light of our text, the true view that it is the reverence to the dead, that was at the bottom of all religions, though he would hold that it was the fear of the human dead, that was probably the most powerful force in the making of primitive religion. But our text makes it rest on the loving reverence and the admiring worship paid to a worthy hero by his fellowmen.

Karanthai must possibly be explained here. It has been taken by Dr. G. U. Pope as the Basil, a flower sacred to Lord Vishnu, the preeminent Lord of Protection. Native opinion seems inclined to take a certain shrub *Kottaikkarantai* as the flower referred to here.

61. வஞ்சி தானே முல்லையது புறனே.

Vanci is in fact mullai's puram.

Vanci = This is a flowering shrub, probably the *Hidtage medablota* bearing a profusion of white and yellow fragrant flowers. From its clambering

nature, it has come to symbolize the enthusiasm of the invading monarch and so has come in warsongs to signify the advance of the lustful conqueror.

This *Vanci* is the wreath worn by the advancing monarch. The cattle raid we saw before, was the preliminary to a longdrawn warfare. The monarch injured by the raid, declares thereafter a formal war and marches against the enemy's country wearing this flower.

This *Vanci* is taken to be the counterpart of the Mullai of Akam songs. Such approximation is justified by Nacchinarkkiniar who shows how it is in the jungle waste, the land of the *mullai*, that the vanci march is undertaken, the season being winter for both. There is this further similitude also, in that, it is the march of the monarch that prescribes the mullai action of patient stay for the wife or Queen at home and the wistful musings and soliloquies of the lover as he stays in his camp. (cf. Tol. Porul. Aka. 26, 27, and 28.)

Rev. Dr. G. U. Pope thus accounts for the *Vanci* wreath in this particular warmode. "The Vanci is the general name for any creeping plant, such as is found on all the mountain-slopes. This particular wreath is represented as composed of flowers of a yellow colour and the plant is one whose leaves are green all the year round. It is the symbol of a race, the fire of whose valour is never extinguished."

62. எஞ்சா மண்ணசை வேந்தனை வேந்தன்
அஞ்சுதகத் தலைச்சென் றடல்குறித் தன்றே.

When through lust of land, a monarch marches
Fearsome against another and fights, it is Vanci.

Vanci refers to the closing in battle array of both the combatants. The greed for land is common to both; the one covets another's land whilst the other seeks to protect it and retain it for himself. Both are equally interested in winning the fight and so are both the parties said to adopt the Vanci mode. Nacchinarkkiniar here notices the objection of some who hold that the meeting of the foeman would be *Kanci* (*Ulmus integrifolia*) but refutes it saying that Kanci referred only to songs treating of the impermanence of earthly objects. If however, the monarch whose realm was invaded, hid himself behind his battlements and did not offer fight, it was called *Ulignai* (*Oerna Lanatar*). The classic illustration is that of *Atikaman* who like a coward, hid himself in Takadur, when the Chera monarch invaded his realm.

63. இயங்குபடை யரவ மெரிபரந் தெடுத்தல்
வயங்க லெய்திய பெருமை யானுங்
கொடுத்த லெய்திய கொடைமை யானு
மடுத்தூர்ந் தட்ட கொற்றத் தானு
மாராயம் பெற்ற நெடுமொழி யானும்
பொருளின் றுய்த்த பேராண் பக்கமும்
வருவிசைப் புனலைக் சற்சிறை போல
வொருவன் றாங்கிய பெருமை யானும்
பிண்ட மேய பெருஞ்சோற்று நிலையும்
வென்றோர் விளக்கமுந் தோற்றோர் தேய்வுங்
குன்றாச் சிறப்பிற் கொற்ற வள்ளையு
மழிபடை தட்டோர் தழிஞ்சியொடு தொகைஇக்
கழிபெருஞ் சிறப்பிற் றுறைபதின் மூன்றே

The sound of invading hosts, setting fire to foeman's lands,
The exultation of monarchs as allies haste to their sides,
Lavish distribution of arms and food to heroes and bards,

The preeminence on field through slaughter of foes,
Land and discourse pronounced on occasions of investiture
Mighty-valour that reckoned not the enemy as men,
The superhuman valour of the youth that stood resolute
Checking flight as stems the dam, the flooding tide,
The abundant food, the monarch partakes on the morrow
The joy of the victorious and the misery of the vanquished
Songs extolling the monarch and pitying the foemen
Solicitude shown unto the wounded warriors ; these together
Contitute in all, thirteen divisions of vanci action.

This section describes the thirteen subdivisions of Vanci.

The sound—hosts=The din of armour and the exultant shouts of soldiers as they muster into the field, brandishing their bright swords amidst the trumpeting of the elephant hosts. Under this heading might be brought also the songs of spectators, the war proclamation in the city, and the songs of derision addressed towards the enemies.

Setting fire—Lands=Though we saw that the Tamil monarchs were loth to injure crops and slaughtering the kine generally, they were not very sparing of the homesteads and the cities of their foemen. Their intention was more to give trouble and engender more physical labour on the enemy hordes than to entail on them an economic disaster or pecuniary loss. Houses were more or less thatched and so could be built up again at a little cost as soon as and as often as they are devastated. The, loss of the city, its battlements and its public buildings

which alone might be costly edifices, would be loss inflicted on the king's treasury, but money spent on reconstruction went to the poor in the land and so served to solve the problem of unemployment and so, was not felt to be absolutely a loss.

Exultation—side= Allies, being monarchs of equal status or one's own adherents, were welcomed with great glee.

Lavish—bards= It was the custom of ancient Tamil monarchs to hold a review of troops on the eve of battle to inspect the arms, and to encourage and enthuse the soldiers by bestowing on them their due meed of praise and presents. Army awards in the shape of medals and presents were also then made. The bards also, who were present inspiring with their warsongs the courage of soldiers, were also then similarly rewarded. Rewards in the shape of gold, elephants, and also largesses of lands are known to have been bestowed on these bards. But one common and usual present for preeminent bards took the shape of a lotus of gold with silver strings attached to it, something like the annual award of the Golden Amaranthus and the silver Lily offered by *Academie de jeux fleuraux of* Tolouse in France. (cf. Purananuru: 11, 130; Akananuru: 76, 208, 331; Kuruntokai 19; Patirruppattu: 48; Porunararruppatai: 15; Maduraik-kanci: 103; etc.)

The preeminence—foe= The glory of those who put up incessant effort towards reducing the enemy by harassing and killing the foemen by the adoption of a constantly undertaken guerilla warfare. Repeated success tends to enhance fame.

Laud—investiture=The words of praise uttered by strangers or the speech of thanksgiving delivered by the hero himself when he has been granted an honour or invested with any title. This subsection is important to us as evidencing the practice of awarding honours and rewards for devout and loyal services rendered to the state, both in civil administration and in war expeditions. *Enadi* (ஏனதி) and *Kavidi* (காவிதி) are two titles of distinction we find in old works. The *Enadi* seems to be a military distinction akin to *Senadhipati* or Commanderinchief or generalissimo of an army, from which expression indeed by a process of attenuation, the Tamil form seems to be derived. This Enadi seems to have been extended very estimable priveleges and seems to have been the recipient of grants of lands and villages (cf. ஏனதிப்பாடி in Kalithokai. 81). His insignia of office seems to have been a ring and he seems to have been entitled to the highest offices in the state as we near of an Enadi, called the Colika-v-enadi, who was minister to the chola king in Manimekhalai. Kavidi seems to have been associated with civil offices in the state and was perhaps conferred on people who had done personal services to the monarch. It seems analogous to a barony and seems to have been enjoyed by females also, as we hear of Kavidi ladies in *Perunkatai* (cf. Perunkatai: p. 180, 81 etc,) appearing radiant with their badges of gold. Certain *Kavidis* seem to have held the office of judges (cf. Maduraikkanci 489—499). The learned editor of Perunkathai, Dr, U. V. Swaminatha Iyer has it in his glossary, that Kavidi was a title bestowed by Kings on the great landholders in the state, who had their lands filled by hordes of farmservants or serfs. They seem also to have been exempt from taxes (cf. Silapadikaram XXII-9). There was also another title, the *Etti* whose

badge seems to be a flower of gold, bestowed on successful eminent merchants in the state. But of these *Enadi* alone seems to have been connected with the military and is of importance here.

These titles were at the disposal of the monarch and he presented them on important occasions and possibly held an investiture ceremonial and indulged in a formal speech, thus anticipating the present day durbars nearly 2500 years ago. The standers by and the courtbards might then laud him and this subsection has reference to these.

Mighty—men = Such was the valour of these forces, that they despised the enemy and reckoned them as less than men. Such recklessness and presumption was necessary for heroes who would win the day.

The superhuman—tide = This refers to the saviour or the rescuer, who seeing the entire army taking to heels, suddenly starts up with a huge cry and a shout, and turns the tide of fortune, by taking up a bold stand and refusing to own himself beaten and inspires with courage, the drooping hearts of his soldiers by example of his own conspicuous bravery.

The abundant food—morrow = On the second day of the fight, the king goes down to his men in the camp and offers to dine along with them, sinking up all differences, in token of there being no distinction amongst the brave. The speech of King Henry V at Agincourt,

"And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
From this day to the ending of the world,
But we in it shall be remembered;
We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;

For he today that sheds his blood with me
Shall be my brother ; be he ne'er so vile
This day shall gentle his condition."

Henry V (Act IV Sc. 3. 57-63).

encouraging his army, is due to a similar idea.

The Joy—vanquished=Songs describing the exalted nature of the victor and the misery of the worsted foemen.

Songs—foemen=Songs in honour of the advancing monarch, in praising whose valour the impending destruction of the enemy's country is commiserated seems to be meant here, though Ilampuranar would simply hold it that it is the tribute paid by the humbled enemy that is referred to. Purapporul-Vemba-Malai has an illustration in this vein, praising the monarch's prowess and pitying his foemen's lands.

Solicitude—warriors=The King went his daily round, visiting the soldiers in the camp, cheering the men, encouraging them, praising their performances, making kind enquiries after the wounded and the disabled, attending to their needs and comforts and generally reviewing the army. The Tamil Kings were very kind and sympathetic towards their soldiers and the nightly vigils of a monarch in his war camp are well described in the song "**Nedunalvadai**" in the collection called the Pattuppattu.

Thus the thirteen sub-divisions of the Vanci, which are applicable to the contending monarchs, are described. This applies equally to the invader and the defender and comprises generally all the incidents in a war camp. The classification or enumeration of incidents

being more descriptive than definitive, other incidents such as the fixing up of tents, the despatch of arms, the worship offered on the field of battle, on the eve of battle, are all to be brought in under accomodative subsections.

64. உழிஞை தானே மருதத்துப் புறனே.

Ulignai is Marutam's counterpart in Puram.

Ulignai is a species of cotton plant (*oerna lanatar*) says Dr. G. U. Pope. A wreath of Ulignai was worn by Tamil Warriors, whenever they were engaged in besieging or defending a fort. Dr. Pope observes "This seems to have been worn by our heroes (invaders preferably) in derision, implying the worthlessness and the weakness of the fort they went to seize."

This is the counterpart of Marutam in that an attack of the enemy and any effort at besieging must be made towards morning, the hour at which the gay libertine returns to his wife. The wife like the besieged monarch stands behind barred gates and strives her best not to admit her husband inside and there is a long-drawn fight between the two. It is also common knowledge, that forts are reared only around cities laid in the fertile marutam tracts. Thus in all respects, in the matter of the hour, the attitude of combatants, the main action, and the land, *ulignai* resembles *marutam* Eventually in marutam the portals open and the victorious husband enters within, as does invader also in Ulignai entering triumphant overcoming the besieged army.

Ulignai is according to the old commentator of Purananuru, a rampant creeper called the kottran and

from its habit of spreading about, came to stand for the widespread army of the invaders and the defenders.

65. முழுமுத லரண முற்றலுங் கோடலு
மனைநெறி மரபிற் றாகு மென்ப.

Besieging and defending one's ancestral fortress
They say, are actions, accord with Ulignai nature.

Ulignai refers to the twofold operation of laying siege to and defending one's valuable ancestral fortress.

66. அதுவே தானு மிருநால் வகைத்தே.

The same hath twice four sub-divisions.

Ulignai has eight incidents, four relating to the besieger and another set of four relating to the party within.

67. கொள்ளார் தேஎங் குறித்த கொற்றமு
முள்ளியது முடிக்கும் வேந்தனது சிறப்புந்
தொல்லெயிற் கிவர்தலுந் தோலின் பெருக்கமு
மகத்தோன் செல்வமு மன்றி முரணிய
புறத்தோ னணங்கிய பக்கமுந் திறப்பட
வொருதான் மண்டிய குறுமையு முடன்றோர்
வருபகை பேணா ராரெயி லுளப்படச்
சொல்லப் பட்ட நாலிரு வகைத்தே.

Assumed suzerainty over lands of foemen,
The glory of him that fulfils his vows
March on the ancient fort and throng of leathern shield,
The wealth of the besieged and the valour of the king

Who harried the enemy and harassed him,
The dire extreme when he rushes out fighting.
And the impregnability of the fort, the king
flees
For shelter, these are eight incidents
referred to.

This section describes the eight divisions of *Ulignai*.

Assumed—foemen=The resolution of the monarch to capture the country of the enemy as evidenced by his proceeding to gift away or deal with the enemy's lands as though he had already conquered it. The classical instance offered by Nacchinarkkiniar is that of Rama's gifting away unto Vibhishana the Kingdom of Lanka. Purananuru 203 is an instance of this type.

The glory—vows=The praise of the valorous monarch who is able because of his mighty prowess to accomplish whatever he swears to execute, as sung by his chieftains, bards, and envoys. The song of Alathur Kilar to Killi Valavan as he stood besieging Avur,

"Whether thou should'st kill or gracious save,
Thou knowest what indeed befits thy fair name
But that should'st still wage a war with one
Who shuts himself up within his battlements

* * *

Is shameful! from such unbefitting war,
O Prince! desist! (Purananuru 36.)

would come under this subsection.

March—fort=The marching of the monarch vowing the reduction of the ancient and most impregnable fortress of the enemy in the course of the day.

The throng—shields=The profusion of shields girded on by the besiegers to withstand the shower of arrows rained on them by the people from within the fort.

These four items deal with things relatin' to the besiegers.

The wealth of the besieged=The songs relating to the resources of the king within the fort. The songs of bards and messengers describing the plenitude of the besieged monarch, showing how it should be impossibe for the invader to reduce him are meant here. A good example is found in Purananuru 109, wherein Kapilar sings of the wonderful wealth of Pari's hills, describing its impregnability and defying the efforts of the combined monarchs of the Tamil country. The song runs,

"Pitiable indeed is the highland domain of Pari!
Though the three monarchs blockade with their thundering drums,
It hath a fourfold yield untilled by men
First, the tinyleaved bamboo yields its rice,
Secondly, the jacktree fruits sweet-juiced bunch on bunch,
Thirdly, wild creeping *valli* supplies its edible root,
And fourthly, as the monkey sports on hills
The honeycombs burst and shower their all.
His hills are lofty, spacious, and scrape the skies
And like as the stars in the sky, are springs thereon.
Though you have tethered your elephants to every tree,

Though with your chariots, you fill all space, you cannot
By your valour conquer him: nor can your swords
Aught avail. But I know how easily it could be had.
If with the softstringed lute, you raise a song
And accompanied by your fragrant-braided women
You march to him, dancing and singing his praises
All his hills and lands, he would willing grant!

And the valour—him=This describes the tactics adopted by the besieged monarch, who being possessed of unfailing resources, made sallies now and then, and thus harassed the enemy, so that the besiegers might after a long siege, get tired of it and so come to abandon it altogether. The heavy losses inflicted on the enemy, the exhausted store of provisions and the sinews of war, the rigors of a climate strange to them, and the daily vacillating heart and the faintness of soldiers might all conspire to induce the monarch to withdraw his troops and raise the siege. It must be noted, that the besieger, being a stranger to the country, who had come on with limited provisions, is always at a handicap, compared with the other who is in his own city with all his supplies ready at hand.

The dire extreme—fighting=This describes how a besieged monarch finding his battlements in a dilapidated condition, and being sure that he would shortly be reduced and that the ingress of the enemy was inevitable, would emerge from the fortress single-handed and

hew his way along desperately, dealing disastrous blows all round.

And the impregnability of the fort=This has reference to songs describing the nature of the fort, in that it was not capable of being taken by the storm which is a source of strength to the besieged monarch, in that he is capable of resting secure retreating behind his battlements without offering fight to the enemy.

Thus there are eight subdivisions under Ulignai; being incidents of a siege. Of these four are related to the besieger. The invader even at the start, considers his enemy's lands as his own and proceeds straightway to gift it away to his allies and retainers. Then he marches against the enemy and lays siege to his fortress and vows he would capture it before the sun went down that day. To that end a bloody war is waged and the leathern shields, well oiled glitter against the sun, covering the entire field of battle and in the course of the day the fort is taken.

In the meanwhile, the monarch within is not idle. He prepares himself for a long siege and collects together a vast store of provisions. He means tiring out the enemy by protracting the fight. He exhausts the enemy troops by emerging now and then and showing fight, or if he thinks himself secure, he does not busy himself with the siege preparations at all, but is well contact to let the enemy tire himself with prolonged efforts. If in the end, he finds that the fall of the fort is inevitable, he rushes forth sword in hand, desperately hacking at the enemy's men.

There are also other incidents of the siege, which it will be the object of the succeeding section to enumerate.

68. குடையும் வாளு நாள்கோ ளன்றி
மடையமை யேணிமிசை மயக்கமுங் கடைஇச்
சுற்றம ரொழிய வென்று கைக்கொண்டு
முற்றிய முதிர்வு மன்றி முற்றிய
வகத்தோன் வீழ்ந்த நொச்சியு மற்றதன்
புறத்தோன் வீழ்ந்த புதுமை யானு
நீர்ச்செரு வீழ்ந்த பாசியு மதாஅன்
றூர்ச்செரு வீழ்ந்த மற்றதன் மறனு
மகமிசைக் கிவர்ந்தோன் பக்கமு மிகன்மதிற்
குடுமி கொண்ட மண்ணு மங்கலமும்
வென்ற வாளின் மண்ணோ டொன்றத்
தொகைநிலை யென்னுந் துறையொடு தொகைஇ
வகைநான் மூன்றே துறையென மொழிப.

The despatch of the royal parasol and the sword
The confused fight on ladders on rampart walls
The fight along the outer walls being now won,
The close encounter following, and the falling back.
Of the besieged one on *Nocchi* action, guarding the inner fort
The close engagement with oft-shifting positions
And the fight over the moat, tenacious like moss,
And the struggle within the city, each driving the other,
And the scaling the palace-walls the inner wall being won
And there having slain the king, anointing himself

And the lustration of the sword, the Victory ordainer
And the festive gathering of hosts when the war is over
These twelve are the subdivisions, they say.

This prescribes another set of twelve subdivisions to the *Ulignai.*

The despatch—sword=This has reference to the practice of the Hindus, in that whenever they feel unable to start on a particular day fixed up for their journey, owing to other intervening circumstances, they send in their place, some part of their baggage or things to show that their journey is begun. This is usually called the *Prasthana* or the starting. Similary, when the King has a particular auspicious hour fixed for his march against the enemy and when something extraneous happens preventing him from undertaking that proposed march at that auspicious hour, he sent his sword or royal umbrella or some part of his army foremost to show that the march had in fact begun. He himself started afterwards at a convenient time.

The confused—rampart walls=The confused fight that obtains at the time of scaling the walls of the outer rampart. So many ladders are set up against the fort-walls, and the besiegers have to fight their foeman even standing on these ladders, that the whole fight looks confused in a profusion of ladders, that look alive as though fighting. This ladder fight is given the technical name of "confusion of ladders"

The fight—following=The outer wall has been won and the enemies have poured in, into the fort. But

yet there is the ground beyond to be won inch by inch. Beyond that is the moat and the inner wall and behind this inner wall lies the city with its centrally situated palace. There is now a grim and tenacious fight maintained. The enemies have pressed in to the interior and elated by this success, they are sure of storming the fort and so fight with grim determination. On the other hand, the people within the fort, stand to lose their all and so like an animal turning to bay, fight on with dogged resolve to drive away the foeman.

The falling—inner fort=We have seen the desperate struggle offered by the besieged monarch. He issues out of the fort himself and by his presence inspires his men and so saves the fort. He then puts on a ***nocchi*** wreath.

Dr. G. U. Pope has this note regarding ***nocchi*** action. "The next chapter speaks of the defence of hill forts. When hostile kings besieged a fort, its defenders were accustomed to assume a wreath of the leaves and flowers of a wild tree called the *Nocchi* or *Vitex nirgundi*, There are many species of the ***vitex***, which is often called the five-leaved chaste-tree. The flowers are of a pure pale-bluish colour and have a pleasant fragrance.. — — — It was the symbol of chastity and those that wore these wreaths were pledged to keep their fort inviolate The virgin fortress guarded by warriors so adorned, laughed at its foes. Much of romance mingled with the ferocity of those ancient days."

The close—positions=This refers to 'the fight' that thereafter ensues within the fort, in which the struggle is continued with varying fortunes, the besieger giving way now, and the besieged a little time afterwards, in

the course of which there is a constant shifting of positions.

And the fight—moss = The fight is now carried on to the side of the moat. This struggle now, continued over the moat that surrounds the inner rampart is called the "moss" technically in that the combating armies cover the entire moat like moss, and could not be tempted to leave it.

And the fight—other = A later and more critical stage of the struggle is now reached, which is technically called "**Pacimaram**" or the "removing the moss" in which both the parties rush forth and recede alternately and continue the war with varying luck. Just as the moss in a tank, which though beaten aside, comes back to its original position in a few minutes, the foemen advance almost immediately every time they are repulsed.

And scaling—won = Now the inner wall encircling the city is also won and then the attack of the enemy is directed against the fortified palace walls; and the enemy scale the walls and rush in, whilst the defenders on their part fight the foe from the turrets.

And there—himself = At last the palace too is overrun and the monarch slain. Then the conqueror dons on robes of state and formally proclaims himself king and offers to rule the subjects in the name of the deceased *i. e.* by right of kingship derived from his victory over the former monarch.

And the lustration—ordainer = Lustration and worship of the victor's sword take place afterwards. The Goddess of Victory is installed and on her head is placed

the king's sword. It is then bathed ceremonially in sacred waters. This is by way of thanksgiving.

And the festive—over = Then, there is a grand feast given to all the soldiery and the nobles, in honour of the victory. The war is thus over and everything is normal afterwards.

Twelve—say = Thus there are twelve incidents attributed to *ulignai* or the siege applicable to both the besieger and the besieged.

This aphorism describes a siege to its finish and it incidentally gives us also an idea of the structure of the forts in Ancient South India. There was first the outer rampart which fenced in the fort proper and the suburban villages. After crossing this and proceeding a little way to the interior, one came across the moat, dark and fearful with its crocodiles, moving along slowly with its deep waters. After fording this deep ditch, the soldiers had to scale the inner rampart and then enter the city. In the middle of the city would be the fortified palace of the king, which was the last objective of the besieger. The fight therefore began in the fields beyond the outer rampart. The gates were stoutly barred and from the rampart walls, the besieged people rained their missiles at the enemy. The besiegers protected themselves by means of heavy leathern shields. Ingress within being warded by the closing of the gates, the enemy force attempts scaling the walls by means of ladders. But the soldiery that attempted thus to penetrate, had to suffer many disadvantages. They were received by the garrison within the fort with brandished swords, and soldier by soldier was hewn down as so many sheaves of corn. The enemy had also a more summary way of

dealing with these intruders. They simply toppled down the ladders, making the soldiers fall down headlong into the ground. This is the "confusion of ladders." Once the outer rampart has been crossed, there was then a rush of both the parties to the bridge. The bridge would already have been removed and even if it were not so removed, would now be destroyed. The parties would then hang over the moat, like moss, struggling *en masse*. After forcing their way across the moat, they had still to gain the inner rampart. After its capture there is the skirmish in the city. The palace was then captured and the slaying or the deposition of the reigning king followed thereafter as a matter of course. The installation of the victor as the new monarch instead was celebrated with a feast. The old king is gone and the new king takes his place offering to rule according to law. "The king is dead ! Long live the king !" proclaims the crier in the city.

69. தும்பை தானே நெய்தலது புறனே,

Tumbai is the counterpart of Neydel in Puram.

Tumbai is a flower called the *drona* in Sanskrit, known to Botanists as *leucas linifolia*. This or its substitute in gold was worn by monarchs who were engaged in war operations against their foemen.

And this *tinai* or mode of warfare, wherein there is in the hearts of combatants, a mutual disdain is compared to the Neydal of the Akam, where prevails a lack of cordiality and mutual sympathy between the lovers leading finally to the desertion, characteristic of this tract. The fight too has to be conducted on the arid waste, lest agricultural interests should suffer, and for that reason, very often the sandy beach of the littoral tract

is chosen by monarchs for battlefields. The hour at which the fight closes is towards evening, the hour of Neydal. And at the close of the battle the wives of the dead soldiers gather around the corpses of their beloved ones and bewail as inconsolably as do the women on the Neydal strand. In all these respects Tumbai is the exact substitute of Neydal in the Puram side of life.

70. மைந்து பொருளாக வந்த வேந்தனைச்
சென்றுதலை யழிக்குஞ் சிறப்பிற் றென்ப.

The over throwing of the monarch, who marches
Lusting for fame is its subject, say. the wise

This section has reference to the prodigious deeds of valour performed by the monarchs, their chieftains and soldiery in their thirst after fame.

71, கணையும் வேலுந் துணையுற மொய்த்தலிற்
சென்ற வுயிரி னின்ற யாக்கை
யிருநிலந் தீண்டா வருநிலை வகையோ
டிருபாற் பட்ட வொருசிறப் பின்றே.

Being drilled all through by shafts and lances
When the life is gone, the body that is left behind
Moves and performs wondrous deeds, like the leech
Such glory, they say; pertains to both in *Tumpai*.

The achievement of glory being the main objective, it follows, that it should be common to both the parties The height of warrior's glory known to the Tamil bards is the instance of a warrior, who ridden through with the shafts, spears and other missiles of the enemy yet con-

tinues to fight regardless of his exhausted and almost dying state. The soldier is so filled with warlust that even when his head had been sundered from the body and life had almost departed, his headless trunk continues to fight, like the proverbial leech which yet crawls along though cut in twain.

72. தானை யானை குதிரை யென்ற
நோனா ருட்கு மூவகை நிலையும்
வென்றிமிகு வேந்தனை மொய்த்தவழி யொருவன்
றான்மீண் டெறிந்த தார்நிலை யன்றியு
மிருவர் தலைவர் தபுதிப் பக்கமு
மொருவ னொருவனை யுடைபடை புக்குக்
கூழை தாங்கிய வெருமையும் படையறுத்துப்
பாழி கொள்ளு மேமத் தானுங்
களிறெறிந் தெதிர்ந்தோர் பாடுங் களிற்றொடு
பட்ட வேந்தனை யட்ட வேந்தன்
வாளோ ராடு மமலையும் வாள்வாய்த்
திருபெரு வேந்தர் தாமுஞ் சுற்றமு
மொருவரு மொழியாத் தொகைநிலைக் கண்ணுஞ்
செருவகத் திறைவன் வீழ்ந்தெனச் சினைஇ
யொருவன் மண்டிய நல்லிசை நிலையும்
பல்படை யொருவற் குடைதலின் மற்றவ
னொள்வாள் வீசிய நூழிலு முளப்படப்
புல்லித் தோன்றும் பன்னிரு துறைத்தே.

The glory of footmen, elephant force, and the cavalry
That strikes terror into the hearts of irresolute foemen
And when the lancebearing victorious monarch is hemmed in
By foemen, hastening with his men and rescuing him
And also the fall and loss of leaders on either side

And entering into the midst of the
broken array
Staying the rear, stoutly standing like a
buffalo,
And the single hand to hand fight discarding
weapons
And the slaying by the hero of the foeman's
royal elephant
And round the monarch slain along with his
elephant
The dance executed by the swordsmen of the
triumphant King
Both the monarchs, themselves and their
troops
Faring successfully, so that none is left of the
hosts
The supreme glory achieved by none, when all
frenzied
He fights, learning treachery had overtaken
his king
And when the armies of the routed king,
retreat
The carnage that he inflicts with his keenedg-
ed sword
Accordant, these, are the twelve themes
of Tumbai.

This section deals with the twelve divisions of Tumbai.

The glory—foemen = The fourlimbed army was composed in ancient days of the chariot force, the elephant force, the cavalry and the foot-soldiers. The valour displayed by this fourfold army wins the tribute of all around—viz. the gods, the goblins, mothers of heroes, wives, the bards and the others. Though the ordinary mode of enumeration must embrace all these four, the

author has chosen for special praise only the infantry, cavalry and the elephant force, from the point of view of relative values and real psychology. From the humanistic and economic value, the man who serves in the infantry is superior far to the elephant and the elephant is worth much more than the horse Nacchinarkkiniar gives a psychological evaluation when he says that a man becomes more frenzied imbued with a patiotic passion and also through lust of a warrior's heaven than an elephant, whilst an elephant is more ferocious when excited than a horse because of its must, and the horse is more apt to get furious than the wooden chariot that it helps to draw. The chariot is not mentioned as it is not capable of any passion.

It must be remembered that this sub-section refers to the glory of the troop as such and not to individual men. Praise of individuals would come under other headings. Praise by a mother would be *mu'in-mullai*, (மூதின் முல்லை), by a wife, *illaln-mullai*, (இல்லாண் முல்லை) by passersby *vallan-mullai* (வல்லாண் முல்லை), and by bards *panpattu* (பாண்பாட்டு).

And when lancebearing—rescuing him= This has reference to the occasion, when, in the field of battle, the king issues forth, to fight along with his troops and is surrounded by foemen. Then a general of his, or some allied monarch or even a private soldier abandons the fight, he is himself waging, and hastens to his rescue. Such a hero is most praised of soldiers, as he is the rescuer of a king. Auaiyar has a song in praise of such a noble in Purananuru 290.

"Share with this youth, the toddy that you drink,
My valorous lord of armed chariots and trooping tuskers!

His father's father stood by your parent's sire
In the field of battle and risked his life dying,
His limbs covered with lances sticking like
spokes in a wheel.
Like as the palmleaf sunshade protects from the drizzle
This youth too beaming with valour would precipitous
Throw himself athwart and ward the lance hurled on you!

And also the fall—either side = And in that rescue, the chieftain laying down his life, for the sake of his master. The fall of both the chieftains is also possible.

And entering—buffalo = "The buffalo stand" is the technical name given to that stubborn fight, which a leader puts up, rallying his fleeting troops and guarding its rear. The buffalo is the most stubborn and unbudging of animals, wholly impervious to any amount of chastisement. Hence is this stubborn defiant stand denoted by that name.

Ilampuranar reads "பெருமையும்" (great honour) instead of "எருமையும்" (buffalo) and the line would then be "Staying the rear, winning great honour by his stout stand." But Nacchinarkkiniar's reading is preferable as this "buffalo stand" is adverted to by Ilakkana Vilakkam, which faithfully copies Tolkappiam. Purapporul-Venpa-malai also has a subsection called the "*Erumaimaram*." (*VII* 13).

And the — — weapons = The heroes in their emulation, throw away their weapons, when they find the

enemy disarmed and offer to engage in a hand to hand fight. Cf. the combat of Pushpabhuti with the Naga Srikantha in Bana's Harsha Carita.

And the slaying — — elephant = Slaying the elephant, which the enemy king is riding, prior to slaying the king himself. When once the royal elephant is felled, the end of the king certainly follows.

And round — — king = The king is then pulled down from his elephant and killed. But the Tamil soldiers had so high a respect for heroism, wherever found, that they held a dance to commemorate the valour displayed by that fallen monarch and honoured his memory by such celebration.

It might be possible to suggest, as Sir J. G. Frazer shows in his Golden Bough, that this dance and celebration was due to the primitive's efforts at gladdening the spirit of the enemy, who might otherwise be disposed to harm his foeman (cf. Golden Bough: Abridged Edn. p 212). But the Tamils 2500 years ago seem to be too civilized to indulge in such crude superstitions.

But the — — hosts = This refers to a stage, when in the terrible fight, both the monarchs came to grief along with their innumerable hosts. The fall of both the kings is due to the excess of martial valour displayed by the contending forces during the war. Purananuru 62 describing the forgotten field of battle where we have the lines,

> "The monarchs, that bravely took the field for a righteous cause
> Are sped and their royal canopy have fallen to the ground;
> And their loud clamouring drums are dumb, are heard no more',

is quoted as illustrating this subsection.

The supreme — — king=And also the great fame of that noble souled warrior, who learning that his liege lord and King had been slain, through some deception practised by the enemy, gets infuriated at that thought and so is spurred to performing prodigious deeds of valour. This shows the extreme loyalty of the Tamil troops.

And when — — keenedged swords=This refers according to Nacchinarkkiniar to the hero in the above, when he precipitates himself on the enemy force and with his trusty sword slays all the enemies, though they take to heels and fly. But Ilampuranar gives a more natural interpretation and takes it to refer to the case of a hero, who faced by tremondous odds, yet does by his sheer prowess win over them all, taking a heavy toll of human lives. He adduces the example of Pandian Neduncaliyan who won the battle at Talai-alan-kanam about whom Idaikkunrurkilar sings thus :—

" For one to kill another and be himself routed in turn
Is nothing new, but is the way of all the world !
But this again, we have not hitherto heard
That one should alone march against the united force
Of seven ankleted monarchs, who all unknowing
The prowess of Neduncaliyan — — — —
— — Came conspiring and were routed thoroughly."
(Purananuru 76)

These are the twelve themes sung under Tumbai. It is concerned mainly with the glorification of the fight, extolling the combatant forces, their heroes and leaders, and dwelling on the greatness of those who displayed wonderful valour. It sang about both the living and the dead, the victorious and the vanquished and impartially adjudged the worth of both the sides.

73. வாகை தானே பாலையது புறனே.

Vakai is the counterpart of Palai in Puram.

Vakai is a whiteflowered tree, *mimosa flectuosa*, whose flowers were worn by the victorious monarch or those who won prizes in a tourney. It denoted excellence or superiority in whatever trade or calling one was engaged in, and a certain nobility of conduct which entitled him to the praise and the regard of his fellowmen. Victory in war was the Vakai of true kshattriyahood; the assiduous performance of sacred sacrificial rites was the Brahmin's Vakai; successful business righteously conducted constituted excellence in a Vaisya; and honest faithful toil and tillage earned the due meed of fame for the Sudra and the Vellala. The undying glory of a valorous race, the preeminence of a town or village which contributed its quota of heroes ready to take the field in any emergency, and the worth of one who excelled in the song, music and the dance, came similarly to be treated of under *Vakai*.

This is compared to *Palai*, the parting of Akam, as the parting was forced on the lover because of his quest of fame or desire to attain eminence which is the subject of Vakai. Like Palai also, Vakai has no land of its own, as it is to be had, wherever fame is achieved or greatness is perceived. It occurs in all climes and during all times. Similar to the Palai, it also is concerned with the extra-amorous activities of the hero and sometimes postively demands the hero's parting from his kith and kin.

74. தாவில் கொள்கைத் தத்தங் கூற்றைப்
பாகுபட மிகுதிப் படுத்த லென்ப.

By peaceful methods and within one's own sphere
Doubly winning renown is *Vakai* they say.

This explains the nature of *Vakai* as consisting of the pre-eminence achieved by all people, irrespective of their station in life, through the proper performance of their appointed duties. Dignity of labour, begotten of a sense, that work, whatever its nature, was, by itself without anymore, exalted seems to have been clearly recognized by the Tamils of those days.

75. அறுவகைப் பட்ட பார்ப்பனப் பக்கமு
மைவகை மரபி னரசர் பக்கமு
மிரு மூன்று மரபி னேனோர் பக்கமு
மறுவில் செய்தி மூவகைக் காலமு
நெறியி னாற்றிய வறிவன் றேயமும்
நாலிரு வழக்கிற் றாபதப் பக்கமும்
பாலறி மரபிற் பொருநர் கண்ணு
மனைநிலை வகையோ டாங்கெழு வகையிற்
றொகைநிலை பெற்ற தென்மனா புலவர்.

The sixfold duties of the Brahmin fold,
And the fivefold duties of the kingly group,
And the six fold professions of the rest,
And those others, who the truth of the past
Present and future, through occult power divine,
The ascetic ways enjoining eight fold practices
Those learned ones who skilled contests win
And similar others, thus in all seven fold
Are counted vakai themes, say the wise.

This aphorism describes the seven themes which lend themselves to laudation. It should be noted that

all the castes and creeds and their several trades are enumerated here.

The sixfold — —fold= A brahmin has six duties to perform and it is up to him to see, that he achieved preeminence in any one or all of these. The six duties are 1. learning the Vedas and their auxiliary lores, 2. expounding them, 3. performing sacrifices 4. officiating at sacrifices. 5. bestowing alms and 6. receiving. These are duties peculiar to and prescribed for the Brahmins only and in these the Brahmin is expected to win fame and renown. By the term "fold" are indicated those other mixed castes, begotten of the union between a Brahmin and a lady of other lowlier orders in society, as a Brahmin was entitled to wed women from all the four castes, Brahma, Kshattria, Vaisya and Sudra.

And the fivefold — — group= There are only five duties prescribed by the sacred legal texts to the kingly class. Viz. learning the sacred texts, sacrificing, bestowing gifts, protection of subjects and the punishment of wrongdoers. Of these the first, the study of the sacred texts was a duty enjoined on all the twiceborns. The sacrifices prescribed for a Kshattria would be the *Rajasuya, Asvamedha* and the like ordained especially for the Kshattria monarchs alone and which others cannot adequately undertake. There is no end to the gifts that a Kshattria could make. There are also other rights extended to him such as the protective vigilance, exaction of taxes, marching on stranger lands for freeing them from tyranny and oppression, succession to the estate of a man dying heirless and the like, incident to his duty of administration and also the privelege of taking up service under others when entirely resourceless.

And the sixfold — — rest=This has reference to the other two castes in the land, the Vaisyas and the Vellalas. Of these the latter are approximated to the Sudras of the Aryan classification. Learning, sacrificing, gifts, agriculture, tending cattle and trade are prescribed for the Vaisyas, whilst the study of secular works, gift, agriculture, tending cattle, commerce and service are prescribed for the Vellalas. And amongst these, there are Vellalas who have been honoured of kings by royal alliances and who were therefore exempt from service. To such was commended sacrifice.

And those — — divine=This has reference to the seers and the astrologers, who either through their occult vision or through trained study of stars and other natural phenomena are able to predict without any difficulty all the occurrences past, present and future. Nacchinarkkiniar would limit this only to the sages of mystic powers, whilst Ilampuranar would hold the ordinary astrologers and soothsayers alone to have been contemplated here.

And ascetic — —practices=This alludes to the eight practices prescribed in *Yoga*, for the attainment of supernatural powers and bliss. The ascetics belong to two classes, those that have renounced the world being bent on liberation who are called Sannyasis, and those others that strive to attain to supernatural powers and through them attain to liberation. The eight practices of the Sannyasins are ablutions, lying on bare ground, wearing skins, having matted locks, tending the sacred fires, nonfrequenting of towns, living on forestyield, worshipping Gods and entertaining guests. The eight practices of the aspirants after supernatural powers are the subjection of the senses, practice of virtuous acts, observation of the various postures, regulated exercise

of breathing, abstraction, contemplation, and unification. It includes also the varied sorts of ascetics and other practisers of virtue.

Those carned — — win=This contemplates those others that practice a certain art or calling and seek in their emulation to rival and overpower others that follow similar pursuits. These are people who win contests in oratory, song, dance, dice, wrestling and the like.

And similar others=This subsection brings in all the other castes and creeds for due praise when considered worthy. The issues of mixed marriages, and those others begotten of extra-marital alliances, are also to be elevated according to their deserts. The ascetic fold would comprehend their disciples and other adepts in the practise of yoga. Amongst competitions might be brought also ramfight, quailfight, cockfight and the rest.

This section is interesting to us, as being an attempt at apportioning fame and glory to people, irrespective of their station in life. It is important ethnologically as portraying a time when the Vaisyas became more or less equalised to the Sudras and the Vellalas, becoming more and more estranged from Vedic practices. The Kshattria monarchs also became degraded, in the course of their southern domicile, and this is evidenced to us by the information that some Vellala barons became entitled to enter into matrimonial relations with the kings of the land. This state of things only bear out the statement made by Manu to the effect that Kshattrias established in the south, came to adopt *sudra* practices and became *sudras*. This text marks therefore the period when though formally there were the

four orders in society, there were only two sections in the community rigidly maintained, the two divisions being the Brahmins and the Nonbrahmins. But the distinction did not lead to a decided cleavage, as there was the moderating influence of the practices of interdining and intermarriage. Kapilar and Bharanar of a later period had their teeth blunted through gnawing of tough flesh, spread out on the tables of the Dravidian chieftains of South India and they sing with high glee of the tasteful wine they were priveleged to quaff in their halls, though they were avowedly Brahmins. It might be that they married women of other castes also. And it was not till the heyday of Jainese and Buddhistic incursions into South India and the consequent introduction of the principle of nonkilling or *ahimsa* that some sharp differences arose in the matter of food. This difference was heightened by the strenuous efforts of Brahmins to lead holier and purer lives, which led them to isolate themselves more and more from the ordinary mass of people, and to cease from interdining and intermarrying. This had the effect in the end of converting the Brahmins in the land into a conservative exclusive heirararchy, necessitating thereby the amalgamation of all the others in the land into one band of nonpriestly or nonbrahmanic race.

76. கூதிர் வேனி லென்றிரு பாசறைக்
காதலி னொன்றிக் கண்ணிய மரபினு
மேரோர் களவழி யன்றிக் களவழித்
தேரோர் தோற்றிய வென்றியுந் தேரோர்
வென்ற கோமான் முன்றேர்க் குரவையு
மொன்றிய மரபிற் பின்றேர்க் குரவையும்
பெரும்பகை தாங்கும் வேலி னானு
மரும்பகை தாங்கு மாற்ற லானும்

புல்லா வாழ்க்கை வல்லாண் பக்கமு
மெல்லார் நாணப் பெரியவர்க் கண்ணிச்
சொல்லிய வகையி னொன்றொடு புணர்ந்து
தொல்லுயிர் வழங்கிய வவிப்பலி யானு
மொல்லா ரிடவயிற் புல்லிய பாங்கினும்
பகட்டி னானு மாவி னானுந்
துகட்டபு சிறப்பிற் சான்றோர் பக்கமுங்
கட்டி னீத்த பாலி னானு
மெட்டுவகை நுதலிய வவையத் தானுங்
கட்டமை யொழுக்கத்துக் கண்ணுமை யானு
மிடையில் வண்புகழ்க் கொடைமை யானும்
பிழைத்தோர்த் தாங்குங் காவ லானும்
பொருளொடு புணர்ந்த பக்கத் தானு
மருளொடு புணர்ந்த வகற்சி யானுங்
காம நீத்த பாலி னானுமென்
றிருபாற் பட்ட வொன்பதிற் றுறைத்தே.

Both in the winter and spring war camps
When through love of war, the heroes haste;
The bounteous gift of the tiller on the threshingfloor
And the far surpassing fame of charioted kings on fields;
And the Kuravai dance of the king who overcame chariots
In his chariotfront; and a similar dance behind;
The glory of the lance that subdues all foemen;
The might that heeds not overwhelming array of foes,
And the generosity of him that hath not much for himself;
And shaming all enemies, lusting after praise of elders

Adopting singleminded the vow he declared afore
When his precious life he offers unto the God of fire;
And when he gifts away his all even to his enemies
And the incidents of those glorious ones who are
Pre-eminent through possession of bulls and cows
And the resignation of regal state and power
And the eight requisites of those who frequent courts
And the wisdom of people bound by righteous vows,
And the benefaction whose glory transcends all space
The protection that is extended even unto sinners
And the felicity of being endowed with all riches
And the renunciation that is begotten of compassion
And when one has abandoned all thoughts of love,
Thus are the twice nine topics enumerated.

This section deals with pre-eminence that is won in other ways also, being modes that do not come in specifically under the seven war modes treated of above. It is in the nature of a miscellaneous section and deals with eighteen themes of Vākais, nine proceeding from the martial spirit of heroes and nine others proceeding from a sense of virtue.

Both — — haste=Late winter and spring are seasons which have a maddening influence on the amorous feelings of men ; so that the heroes who stay out in their camps of war during these seasons, abandoning the embraces of their beloved ones are entitled to much praise. Their sense of duty and patriotism which makes them renounce all pleasure entitled them to a distinction which is accorded to them by this subsection.

The bounteous — — fields=This refers to two sorts of panegyrics, one praising the bounty of agriculturists who bestow grains in plenty on their bards and the other praising the deeds of a victorious monarch, who overthrew on the field of battle innumerable hosts and so made sacrifice unto the demons and goblins and loaded the bards with a share of the booty gained. The one is called *Eror kalavazhi* and the other the *Teror-kalazahi* meaning the praise sung of the mower in a ripened field of grains and the mower on the field of battle respectively. Puram 369. adduced by both Nacchinarkiniar and Ilampuranar and which the latter takes to be an illustration of *Eror kalavazhi* is really a *teror kalavazhi* in which the victorious monarch, *Kuttuvan Ceraman* who overcame the navy, is compared to a ploughman.

And the kuravai — — chariot front=The monarch who won a memorable victory over the numerous chariot-heroes, who advanced against him, danced with his men delightedly, standing on the pedestal of a chariot so won, celebrating his success. The kuravai is a dance in which many people clasp each other by their hands and go round and round to the accompaniment of a merry song. Though indulged in mainly by young maids, it is also

adopted by warriors whilst celebrating a victory. There is a kuravai occuring in Tumbai also.

And similar — — behind= Behind the chariot are supposed to dance, on the same occasion, demons and goblins, who thirsting for the taste of human flesh are well-satisfied now, and so dance in glee as the chief deity of the battlefield distributes around to them balls of flesh and bowls of blood. They dare not dance in front of the monarch, but fall to it at his back. Ilampuranar takes it in a more natural way and he is supported in his explanation by Iyanaritanar who holds it to be a dance executed by damsels in honour of the victory gained.

The glory — — foeman=The lance by itself was something dreadful to the foemen who kept their place and obeyed his rule though he had no occassion to use it against them. Nacchinarkkiniar quotes Purananuru 309 as an illustration.

"To win over fields of battle, is easy for everybody else
Blunting the edges of foemen's weapons by sword-blows.
* * *
But that respect begotten of dread, in that, with tremulous lips
They lisp " There lies one in yon camp, unsurpassed in valour!"
Belongs but to my lord, whose lance is ever upraised in war !"

The might — — array= The hero was so valiant that he reckoned not the hosts that advanced against him.

And the generosity — — himself = The wonderful liberality of a person, who is so full of hospitality that he would part with all that he has and himself starve. Such hospitality deserved surely praise and so has been brought under *vakai.*

And shaming — — God of Fire = This has reference to the ferocity of the soldiers, who having vowed that they would give up their lives in case they failed of their purpose, throw themselves into fire as a sacrifice when they failed, thus discharging their debt to the master's salt. This was one way of putting to shame, their foemen, since they will no longer have any means of chastising or injuring them. The fealty a soldier owed to his King was called the *Cencorru-k-katan* (செஞ்சோற்றுக் கடன்), the debt incurred through having partaken rich food.

The text has in this line an expression meaning "Ageold life" meaning a life which had existed for ages, having passed through many births and deaths thereby indicating the belief of the ancient Tamils in birth and rebirth.

And when — — enemies = This relates to the unparallelled generosity of the great, in that they are ready even to yield their very vitals, when the enemy begs for it with the express intent of harming him. The classic instance is that of Karna who gave away his earrings and armour to Indra, who wanted to rob him of those charmed jewels which ensured his protection, in order to compass his death. A similar act of singular generosity is to be attributed to Pari also, if we can believe the hoary commentator on Purananuru 109.

And the incidents — — cows=This has reference to the glory of husbandmen and the *Vaisya* tradesmen. The *Vellalas* till their fields with the aid of their bulls and through their bounty help to save the world from want. Tenders of cows are the Vaisyas and as these are the intermediaries that help to bring the products from the fields to towns, they serve an important purpose in social economy. The ideal of these people was to ply an honest virtuous trade. As is elsewhere described, these merchants

> " Considering their products and customer's money equally
> Neither took more money, nor gave the goods the less
> But by an increased volume of business transacted
> Amassed plenteous wealth "
>
> (Pattinappalai 209—212)

Nacchinarkkiniar would translate this line as referring to " steeds and cattle " and take it to refer to the glory of soldiers and husbandmen.

And resignation — — power=The abandoning of royalty even when one is entitled to it and has been permitted to enjoy it. The classic instance is that of Bharata and Partha Ilampuranar has a different reading which runs " கடிமனை நீத்த பாலி ஞெயம் " meaning the glory of those who did not lust after other's women, which is most idle, as lauding what must be a normal course of conduct.

And the eight — — courts=Courtiers are people who are conspicuous by their presence at the courts of monarchs and in the assemblages of the wise, who are

considered to be leading men of light and wisdom. There are eight qualifications prescribed for such people. These are nobility of birth, learning, virtue, truth, purity, impartiality, freedom from jealousy and greedlessness. People excelling in these, are worthy of praise and are therefore brought in here.

And the wisdom — — vows = The several virtues that are necessary for householders and which are enjoined by our sacred texts are humility, virtue, impartiality, freedom from adulterous thoughts, nonanger, abstention from slander, fear towards sinful actions, freedom from jealousy and the like. Character comprises all this and character was surely a priceless possession.

And benefaction — — space = Largesses which bespeak one's fame and which fills up the whole world or transcending fame through bestowing what it is impossible to bestow. The famous illustration is that of Prince Kumana who being in exile, offered his head and a sword to cut it with, as a price was set thereon to the poet who came praising him.

" O king! Those who wish to bide eternally in this world
Departed their lives, leaving behind them transcending fame

*   *   *   *

As I stood singing of him who is endowed with deathless fame
" For a precious bard to depart from my presence emptyhanded
Would be greater loss than that of my fair royal domain ! "

Said he and unbuckling gave me his sword bidding me take his head
As he had not aught about him as priceless as his own self.
And I bounding up with joy, came to your presence wondering
At your kinsman's magnanimity, which hath no diminution!

[Purananuru. 165.]

The protection — — sinners = The rare kindness and compassion of one, who forgives even his enemies. A kindness and affection which comprises within its range even the worst offenders and sinners is surely to be extolled. A telling example would be that of Jesus who at the moment of his greatest affliction, cried out, in agony on the cross, praying for forgiveness unto the men that helped to crucify him. "Father! Forgive them, for they know not what they do!" are the most remarkable expressions, that must teach all humanity the ideal and the extent of forbearance, one ought to exercise towards another.

And the felicity — — riches = The combination of all pleasurable circumstances, that very rarely is man's portion on earth. Being endowed with wealth, royalty, love, children, virtue, and other things conducive for an idyllic existence.

And the renunciation — — compassion = And the great grief that oppresses mighty souls at epoch-making periods of world's history, when soured by witnessing the distress and ills to which humanity is subject, they betake themselves to the woods, there by their penance, to so work the will of Gods, as to influence the minds of men

to ways of mercy and peace, is taken for special praise here. The foremost instance of this type would be that of Gotama Buddha.

And when — — love=Renunciation and purity whilst leading a worldly life, are two virtues entitled to praise. Overpowering the snares of the senses and the subdual of lust are the paths thereto.

Thus — — enumerated=Twofold nine or eighteen, nine proceeding from valour and nine proceeding from virtue are the paths leading to pre-eminence.

77. காஞ்சி தானே பெருந்திணைப் புறனே

Kanci indeed is the counterpart of Peruntinai.

Dr. G. U. Pope has this note on Kanci. "The Kanji is the *Ulmus Integrifolia* or Elmtree and its foliage was dark. Its flowers and wreath formed the wreaths worn by the defenders of an invaded country, and were supposed to be indicative of the stubborn resolve to conquer or die. This most generally ended in the death of the King and the overthrow of his kingdom and hence the same word is used for the wreath of the minstrel who inculcates moral precepts and more especially dwells on the instability of wordly things. The word *kanji* has thus become a synonym for "sober counsel" and some of the verses under this heading have nothing particular to do with war. The great example ot this is the Madurai—k—kanji."

We are deeply indebted to Dr. Pope for his sympathetic study of our ancient institutions. But we are not able to see why the defenders, unless they were wholly desperate and they wanted to declare that life

was no more a matter of concern for them, and that therefore they were going to put up a very strenuous fight, should put on wreaths of kanji. Though it might be that kanci wreaths were put on by bards who wished to sing of the instability and transitoriness of worldly things, we do not see any reason why the soldiers should foredoom themselves by wearing this inauspicious wreath. I should prefer taking it as a mere technical name used to denote the evanescent nature of things, so that it must refer to the distressing themes propounded under this head, whosesoever the sad end might be. Possibly the kanci flower was used for funereal decorations by the ancient Tamils.'

This is considered to be the counterpart of Peruntinai in Puram, in that like the Peruntinai which embraces a great many of the marriage-modes, this deals with virtue, wealth and love and their fleeting nature, these constituting three out of the four objectives of human existence. It is so comparable also in that distress or sorrow which is charecteristic of Peruntinai is the prevailing note in kanci. Another point of similarity lies in its occuring in all climes and regions and at all times, seasons and hours.

78. பாங்கருஞ் சிறப்பிற் பல்லாற் றானு
நில்லா வுலகம் புல்லிய நெறித்தே.

Instability characterising the world in all its phases
It embraces in its scope, the transitory mood of the world.

These *kanci* songs are addressed to people by poets describing the worthlessness and the fleeting nature of all earthly things, with a view to persuading them to

abandon all earthly passions and vain desires, so that they might devote themselves to winning that other supreme happiness which is called *moksha* or liberation and which alone is everlasting.

79. மாற்றருங் கூற்றஞ் சாற்றிய பெருமையுங்
கழிந்தோ ரொழிந்தோர்க்குக் காட்டிய முதுமையும்
பண்புற வரூஉம் பகுதி நோக்கிப்
புண்கிழித்து முடியு மறத்தி னானு
மேமச் சுற்ற மின்றிப் புண்ணோற்
பேஎ யோம்பிய பேஎய்ப் பக்கமு
மின்னனென் றிரங்கிய மன்னை யானு
மின்னது பிழைப்பி னிதுவா கியரெனத்
துன்னருஞ் சிறப்பின் வஞ்சினத் தானு
மின்னகை மனைவி பேஎய்ப் புண்ணோற்
றுன்னுதல் கடிந்த தொடாஅக் காஞ்சியு
நீத்த கணவற் றீர்த்த வேலிற்
பேஎத்த மனைவி காஞ்சி யானு
நிகர்த்து மேல்வந்த வேந்தனொடு முதுகுடி
மகட்பா டஞ்சிய மகட்பா லானு
முலையு முகனுஞ் சேர்த்திக் கொண்டோன்
றலையொடு முடிந்த நிலையொடு தொகைஇ
யீரைந் தாகு மென்ப பேரிசை
மாய்ந்த மகனைச் சுற்றிய சுற்ற
மாய்ந்த பூசன் மயக்கத் தானுந்
தாமே யேங்கிய தாங்கரும் பையுளுங்
கணவனொடு முடிந்த படர்ச்சி நோக்கிச்
செல்வோர் செப்பிய மூதா னந்தமு
நனிமிகு சுரத்திடைக் கணவனை யிழந்து
தனிமகள் புலம்பிய முது பாலையுங்
கழிந்தோர் தேஎத் தழிபட ருறீஇ
யொழிந்தோர் புலம்பிய கையறு நிலையுங்
காதலி யிழந்த தபுதார நிலையுங்
காதல னிழந்த தாபத நிலையு
நல்லோள் கணவனொடு நனியழற் புகீஇச்

சொல்லிடை யிட்ட பாலை நிலையு
மாய்பெருஞ் சிறப்பிற் சிறுவற் பெயரத்
தாய்தப வரூஉந் தலைப்பெய னிலையு
மலர்தலை யுலகத்து மரபுநன் கறியப்
பலர்செலச் செல்லாக் காடு வாழ்த்தொடு
நிறையருஞ் சிறப்பிற் றுறையிரண் டுடைத்தே.

The Perunkanci announcing invincible Death;
The exposition of elders unto others the fact of old age
Discerning that that was the sole worthy end
The valour that rips open one's wounds and makes him die;
And in the dead of night, as the wounded lies unguarded
The demons standing guard over him called *Peykkanci*
And the *munnai* wail, recounting the dead one's virtues;
"I shall suffer death, if I fail of this performance"
Such terrible oaths addressed by a truthful monarch;
The *Todakkanci* where the sweet smiling wife drives off
The goblin from her husband's corpse but shrinks from its touch;
The *Anjikkanci* in which the wife viewing the lance wounds
On her husband's corpse, becomes sore afraid and wails;
The daughter's *Kanci*, in which to the invading monarch
The ancient nobility shrinks to bestow their daughter

And the state when the wife dies embracing
close
And pressing to her lips the sundered head of
her wedded spouse
These ten in all are Kanci themes praiseworthy
for men.
And also, when the women world dies wailing
round the corpse
Of their glorious departed warrior, their
confused cries
That insufferable grief as alone the wives
bewail
The *mutanandam* of passers by who having
witnessed
Praise the lady who chose to follow her lord in
his death
The *mutupalai* in which in the dread lonely
cemetry
A lonely wife kept her moan weeping for her
departed spouce ;
The abandoned state in which through excessive
grief
Towards the departed lord and his lady, the
rest weep out ;
The widowered state of one that had lost his wife;
The ascetic state of her that had lost her
husband;
The *Palai* song where the virtuous lady entering
fire
Along with her husband declares resolve not
to live ;
And the state when hearing of the heroic death
of her son
The mother goes forth to view him there after
to die by his side ;

And the *Kaduvaltta* in declaring to the world, the Vanity of life
She blesses the cemetry which eternally bides though all else die ;
These ten also for women, are Kanci's praise-worthy themes ;

This section enumerates the twenty forms in which kanci songs are known to occur. Ten of them relate to the virtues and the greatness of men and ten others to the abiding virtues of women. It is wholly charged with sorrow and a ceaseless monotonous wailing is the form taken by these songs.

The Perunkanci — — *Death*=The exhortations addressed by sages informing their hearers that none can withstand Death, who is a great leveller and so advising people to be more kindly disposed to each other and to lead a virtuous life. cf. J. Shirley.

" The glories of our blood and state
Are shadows, not substantial things
There is no armour against fate,
Death lays His icy hands on kings ;
Sceptre and crown
Must tumble down
And in the dust be equal made
With the poor crooked scythe and spade "

Mark also the moral of all this.

" Then boast no more your idle deeds " says the poet observing,

" Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet and blossom in the dust."

The expounding — — old age=The elders who have ripened with years and in wisdom declaring by their person, by sight of their grey hairs, wrinkles and other infirmities and by words of wisdom, the knowledge that youth is impermanent and that, since man's being was so fragile, man should exert himself in the cause of virtue and righteousness, the while he is whole, strong and endowed with all faculties.

Discerning — — him die=This has reference to the high souled hero, who having received a wound either in the face or on the back, betokening infamy, or having received a deep wound which renders him prostrate or being on the point of death in his own abode, wishes to attain to a warrior's heaven or everlasting fame by giving up his life through a self-inflicted wound. This contemplates three cases of suicide. (1) When a warrior receives a wound, either in the face or the breast, he invariable preferred to die in fame, rather than be cured and live on with his scarred face. He then tore open his wound, so that he might bleed more profusely and awaited death. 2. When a warrior received a wound on his back, which declared by its position in the back, that it was received whilst fleeing away, he generally did not choose to put up with life. (3) When a monarch came by death through natural causes, he caused himself to be laid on sacred grass and bade his priests kill him by plunging a sharp sword into his body. It was believed that all these three went to heaven.

And in the dead — — Peykkanci=This refers to the guard kept by goblins and demons, over the body of a mortally wounded soldier, out of pity for his fate, or out of fear, till he should die, so that the wolf and the fox might not harm it. The soldier lies neglected, there

being no kith and kin to bewail his sad end. This description serves indirectly to prove how one's kinsmen are not to be relied on at the hour of trial—a theme befitting kanci.

And the mannai — — virtues=This is an ode sung on the departed person, recounting his manifold virtues, each line of which ended with the expletive "manne." The songs themselves came to be called "mannai" songs from this characteristic. Purananuru V. 235 is a good instance of this.

"When he had but a little wine, he bestowed it on us!
When of the selfsame wine, he had a good store
He tasted of it after we had drunk singing his praise
When he had but a little food, he had a good many plates spread!
When he had plenteous food also, he had plates spread as many!
And when the plate went round, as oft as he saw wholesome flesh
He passed it on gladsome to us, for us to dine wholehearted!
And in the thick of battle, when densely rained shafts and lances,
He betook himself to the front, boldly, to guard us from harm!
With his hands sweetly smelling with *narandai* garlands
He would stroke the grisly curls on my foul smelling head!
Piercing through the widemouthed bowl of the sweet-singing bard,
And wounding the extended palms of the almsmen at his gates,

Plucking out the eyes from the face of the people
he protected,

Right on the tongues of scholars, skilled in
stringing choice syllables,

Fell the lance rendered gory with his heart's red
rich blood !

Where is he my patron prince ? the supporter of
my life ?

No more are there bards left to sing ! Nor
are there any more

Princes would lavish bestow on bards who sweet
would sing !

Like as the broadly blooming honeyfilled
flower of Pahanrai

Wasting itself away on the cool shores of streams,
unstrung

There are men innumerable, dying after a niggardly
course of life !

(Auvaiyar on Atikaman.)

I shall suffer — — monarch=Here the monarch swears that he would perform a certain thing and that he would give up his life, if he did not perform it. Though salvation could not result therefrom, he is at least saved from the ignominy of seeing his object frustrated. Purananuru songs 72 & 73 refer to such oaths taken by Pandian Nedunceliyan and Cholan Nalangilli respectively. The former swears saying that he was willing to be called a tyrant, to become one unsung by poets and to be deprived of all his riches if he did not win over his insulting foemen. The other takes an oath saying that he was willing his garlands shall become as despicable as those embraced by the prostitutes !

The Todakkanci — *touch* = This is a case where a warrior's wife hearing of her husband's death, repairs to the field of battle only to find the demons and goblins hovering around and feasting on his corpse. Hastily she drives the goblins, but she herself durst not touch the corpse. The presence of death had rendered so awful, the sight of him, who had before toyed with her and thrilled her very being by his very proximity.

The Anjikkanji—wails = The kanji of fright, in which the hero's body being so marred by the wounds as to be scarcely recognizable, inspires the wife with a wholesome fright. That the body whose touch and presence had always filled her heart with ecstasy, should now affright her, indicates the fleeting nature of bodily charms. Ilampuranar adopts another reading and takes the theme of a warrior's wife removing from her husband's body, the lance sticking to it, and putting an end to her own life with the selfsame lance, to have been meant here. Purapporul-Venpa-malai (iv 23) has a song illustrating the latter variety of *Anjikkanci*.

The daughter's kanci—daughter = This has reference to a case, where a monarch or a chieftain solicits from the parents, the hand of their daughter and is refused. The monarch thereon, enraged, wages war against the parents, who because of their family pride make up their minds to offer their lives fighting against him, rather than give their daughter to him. Purananuru has nineteen songs (Songs 336-354) devoted to this theme. There is a daughter's Kanci (Puram 337) sung by Kapilar, which possibly was prompted by Pari's refusal of his daughter to the Chola monarch. Such songs are reminiscent of the days of Rakshasa marriage. Puram 349 quoted by both Ilampuranar and Nacchinarkkiniar

and sung by Marutan-Ilanagan of Madura is fully illustrative of this theme :—

Bearing a sharp lance, with which wiping the sweat on your face
O you monarch ! who speak out bold raining abuse ! Her father
Talks full valiant. No cowardly spirit breathes in his words.
If such be their course, that beautiful darling of theirs
Of sharpened teeth, of calm delightful soft-raining eyes
Has like a spark of fire, that falls on the soft-grained wood
Become the deity of destruction, unto her native, village !

And the state — — lord=In this theme, the body has been severed from the head and it is the head alone that the lady is able to identify. She takes it up, covers it with her kisses, presses it to her face, hugs it to her breasts, and fondling it full fond, gives up her life. cf for a similar tragic circumstance Keats' Isabella.

These — — praiseworthy=All these ten are themes relating to a male whose worth they bespeak.

And when — — confused wail=This has reference to the clamour of women, who wailing hover about the field of battle praising and bewailing alternately the brave one that lay dead, covered with valorous wounds. Both the commentators quote the Puram Verse (277).

" And to that dame whose locks ape the crane's silvery down
The news that her son slew an elephant and then died

Gave more joy, than even the event of his birth ;
And the gladsome tears that she shed, were
More copious than showers that on a wintry morn
Drip from the tinyleaved bamboo growing on hill !

as illustrating this theme.

That insufferable — — wail= The lament of women who keep a lonely vigil beside their husbands, corpses, unattended by their attendant maids or kinsmen and which on that account is most heart-rending, is here referred to.

The muthonandam — — death= The praise uttered by the passers by when they saw the wife also die simultaneously with the husband. A classic instance will be the death of Perunkoppendu, who is described in Silappadhikaram, as one who seemed to have given up her life, with the intention of seeking therewith the life, of her lord. The Purapporul Venpamalai has a very fine song illustrating this theme (X-ii-9).

" Learn that there is but a single life breathing
through the twin bodies of lovers.
They talk without knowledge, those who declare
there must be two lives !
Unto the hero with poison dipped lancehead
who was on the fields of battle
And the white-shell-bangled lady in her house,
their life simultaneous sped !

The mutupalai — — lost= Palai is parting and *mutu* is ancient and long and hence the expression refers to that long parting effected by death after which no reunion is possible. This shows how youth and possessions cannot last long. Vanparanar has a song illustrative of this theme.

" To weep out my grief alas ! I greatly fear the tiger!
Carry you along, I cannot, seeing your chest
is broad
Let that cruel death, who thus did lay you low
Experience an anguish like mine, as terrific !
Pray my lord ! sieze my hands bangled and
bejewelled
And walk a little towards you mountain shade ! "
(Purananuru 255.)

Here the warrior is dead. The foxes hover about lusting after his flesh. She dare not cry and weep out her tears lest the distant hovering tiger should notice her. She fain would carry the corpse but she is unequal to the task. In her great anguish she addresses the corpse and begs it to walk along !

The abandoned state — — weep out = Both the warrior and his wife are dead. Then the domestics, the bards, and the lazy ones of the city gather around the dead, describe their lives and discourse on the vanity of things philosophizing. Here is a song by a bard. Nappa-calaiyar of Marokka sings of Killivalavan who died at Kulamutram thus :—

" He would not have escaped him, if he had come
Wrathful or commanding or had touched his limb,
But like a bard making low obeisance
He must have come begging for his life, singing
His praises,—the Death who took the life of
Valavan
The mighty chariot warrior and goldwreathed
lord of victorious hosts !
[Purananuru 226.]

The widower's — — wife = A widower's wail is also apt to bring out the emptiness of life. Death is blind to

the cruel wrongs he perpetrates, when he sunders in a moment, what it must have taken men years to bring together, viz; two lovers. To the unremarried widower the whole world is dreary and the outlook dismal. Kalidasa depicts the true pangs of a widower, in his "Lament of Aja" for his Indumati. Sings he,

"Pleasure is set; fortitude gone; the songs have ceased
And the seasons are no more pleasing with their festive joys
Gone hereafter is the use of ornaments, O my Indumati!
The couch beside me is empty, bereft of thy form!

"Honest housewife, sage counsellor, sincerest friend
And my wellbeloved disciple in the practice of fine arts!
By this parting effected by cruel unrelenting death
Tell me, my beloved! What is it he has not robbed me of!"

(Raghu Vamsa. VIII 66–67.)

Nacchinarkkiniar informs us that it is the wail of the widower who has not remarried, that is sincere and worthy of mention under Kanci. But he talks from theory.

The ascetic — — husband= There were three courses left open to a widow. She would if she were of the supreme type of chastity to which Perunkoppendu and others belonged, give up her life instantaneously. She might in the alternative throw herself into the flames and so give up a life, which of itself does not go. The last and the least worthy mode of life was for the woman to

adopt an ascetic course of existence, enjoining to herself a ceaseless circle of rites and fasts and hope for being reunited to her husband in heaven. The theme here referred to is the last. The frugal fare of a widow is thus described.

> " It is to be pitied, the little white waterlily !
> When we were young, it served us as fancy dress!
> But now, when our wealthy spouse is dead,
> with changed course,
> It has become, during these dreary dismal days
> The producer of the course grain that serves
> for food ! "
>
> (Purananuru : 248.)

The palai song — — life = This has reference to the second type of the chaste lady referred above, who desires to enter the fire. This is the " sati " so much praised by medieval Hindu jurisprudants. When a lady resolves on self-immolation, it is possible there are many who attempt to dissuade her. The lady then cries out in her distress and remonstrates. The burden of her songs would come under this article. In Purananuru Verse 246 put in the mouth of Perunkoppendu, who though poetically reported to have died even at the sight of the swooning monarch Nedunceliyan (vide. Silappadhikaram XXV 78—86.) seems to have died by concremation, as reply addressed to the wily counsellors who would dissuade her. She cries,

> "O ye men of wisdom ripe ! O ye men of wisdom ripe !
> O ye who instead of bidding me depart, dissuade !
> O ye men of wisdom ripe, with wile decitful mind !
> Without the wholesome ghee white like the seeds
> Which the squirrelbackstriped cut cucumber yields,
> With the rice laid on leaf, after expression by hand

And but the boiled *Velai* for food, dragging on our days
Lying on pebblestrewn ground without a mattress even,
We are not women would lead a widow's life !
The fires kindled in the cemetry with black logs
Might indeed seem terrible to you ! But to us, who have
Our husband lost, our lord broadshouldered and fair
The broad lake's cool waters where bloom the lotuses
And the forking flamed fire, are both of equal feel !"

And the state — — corpse = This has two meanings. The repairing of the mother to the field of battle either on receipt of news to the effect that her son had earned crowning infamy by deserting his colours or on learning that he came by death after performing deeds of glory having carved for himself lasting fame. Purananuru V. 278 sings of such a matron's fame.

" It was an old woman bent and withered.
And she heard it by many reported that her son
Had deserted his colours, and cowardly fled the field.
Full wroth, she swore, if he had so his birth forsworn
She would cut off the breasts which had suckled him.
And sword in hand, she went to the battlefield
And there among the slain in a mangled state
As she saw the corpse of her son, covered with wounds
She rejoiced more than she did on the day of his birth ! "

And the kaduvalthu—depart = This is the ode on the agelong cemetry, which being the eternal witness of the passing away of countless generations, is a living testimony to the transience of human existence. "The elegy written in a country churchyard" with its solemn note of warning, that

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave
Awaits alike th' inevitable hour.
The paths of glory lead but to the grave!"

might perhaps be brought under this head.

These ten—themes = These ten themes refer to women and reveal their loves, longings and privations.

These together are twenty themes which deal with songs depicting the inpermanence of things, which is the motif of Kanci strains.

80. பாடாண் பகுதி கைக்கிளைப் புறனே
நாடுங் காலை நாலிரண் டுடைத்தே.

The *Patan* is the counterpart of Kaikkilai
It has twice four states when analysed.

The *Patan* or Eulogy is the last of the seven *tinais* relating to *Puram* It refers to the praise bestowed on patron kings and lords by poets and bards. This laud is the exact counterpart of *Kaikkilai* in that there is not that mutuality of desire between the bard and the eulogised person. The patron lusts after praise, whereas the bard covets the prize and so praises him. Thus the objectives actuating the one to sing and the other to listen are at variance with each other. Like Kaikkilai

also, exultation or joy is the predominant note in Patan and it occurs in all climes and regions.

This *Patan* has eight subdivisions. They are Salutation to the Deity, blessing, greeting, wholesome advice, introduction, solicitation, unilateral love, and curse.

81. அமரர்கண் முடியு 'மறுவகை யானும்
புரைதீர் காமம் புல்லிய வகையினு
மொன்றன் பகுதி யொன்று மென்ப.

In all the six themes, leading up to the gods
In cases where it refers to objects of desire
One single state Padan character assumes.

There are two interpretations offered to this passage by the two commentators, Ilampuranar and Nacchinarkkiniar. In fact there is much confusion prevailing in this and the succeeding aphorisms, because of Nacchinarkkiniar's tortuous method of importing his own pet theories and notions of a later day into all his interpretations.

In all—gods = According to Nacchinarkkiniar there are two classes of beings that are entitled to laudations, the one being the gods and other being mortals. The mortals belong to six classes who are possessed of divine attributes and they are the sages, the brahmins, the kine, rain, crowned monarchs, and the universe. Praise offered to these must naturally lead one to praise the Gods. This praise is one mode of Patan. All the songs addressed in praise of Gods at the beginning of all treatises must fall under this head.

But Ilampuranar would take it that there are only six objects worthy of Patan and these are *kôdinilai* or the flagsong, *kandali* or irrepressible might, Valli or the spouse of the God of War, information laid to poets, praise, and prayer as addressed to Gods.

In cases — — *desire* = Nacchinarkkiniar would interpret it as cases where the poet prays unto gods for paltry objects or worldly things. Ilampuranar would tack on this to the next line and hold that this has reference to the fivefold love of mortal men.

One — — *assumes* = One variety of Padan is constituted in this fashion. It consists of lauds addressed to Gods and the rest and of songs couching some prayer for the grant of the poet's desires i. e praises and prayers. Ilampuranar would read this line along with the previous one and interpret it as meaning that the single state of sulking as differentiated from among the five fold state of pure love would also lend itself for treatment under Padan.

The difference between the two interpretations consists in this, that Nacchinarkkiniar would restrict the scope of this section to the Gods and the Godly men and beings only, whilst Ilampuranar would bring also the mortals within this section. According to Nacchinarkkiniar this section refers to one sort of padan which consists of glorification and prayer. Glorification is praise addressed to the Gods and the godly beings, simply exalting them without desiring from them any earthly benefit, being concerned only with the religious merit thereof conducive to salvation. The prayer on the other hand is a laudation addressed to the Gods and the godly beings desiring as a return therefor

some abject, paltry, temporal benefit. Under these temporal benefits, might be brought together, wealth, fame and the fruits of love. But according to Ilampuranar this Patan would treat of praises addressed to the Gods, praises addressed to mortal heroes not half so godly, and also songs addressed to the hero in a sulking tone In their comments, Nacchinarkkiniar gives illustrations bearing out his interpretation whilst Ilampuranar does not adduce any. The latter moreover is rather clumsy in his frantic efforts to squeeze out his " Sulking" from the text. It might be noted that as the next section expressly provides for this theme, it need not be read in here.

32 வழங்கியன் மருங்கின் வகைபட நிலை இப்
பரவலும் புகழ்ச்சியுங் கருதிய பாங்கினும்
முன்னோர் கூறிய குறிப்பினுஞ் செந்துறை
வண்ணப் பகுதி வரைவின் றாங்கே.

In the realm of usage, duly apostrophising the hero
When one contemplates blessing and praising,
And also in detailing love according to the ancients
The modes used in *Senturai* are not censured.

This aphorism affirms how all poetic modes could be used in *Padan* when songs are addressed to a hero, showering blessings on him, or praising him in diverse strains and also in songs, in songs dealing with his love. Nacchinarkkiniar would interpret the third line to mean " Virtue, wealth and love " instead of merely love. The previous section according to Nacchinarkkiniar related to lauds and prayers addressed to Gods and godly men whilst this section provided for the praise of mortals and less worthy men.

83. காமப் பகுதி கடவுளும் வரையார்
ஏனோர் பாங்கினும் என்மனார் புலவர்.

Love's influence, the Gods will not resist
Even towards mortals, say the learned.

This aphorism declares that poems could be composed describing Gods and goddesses also as lovers. Thus the love of a God towards a Goddess, or that of a Goddess towards a God, the love of a God towards a mortal woman or that of a Goddess towards a mortal man, and the love of a mortal woman towards a God could all be sung under this section. The love of a mortal woman for the Deity of her heart paves the way for the songs of devotion of the Bhakti cult in which the Godhead is considered as the heroic lover and the individual is treated of as a love-affected maid. This anticipates in a way the songs of devotion called the "*madal*" or the Palm-horse, in which though according to the general section (Tol. Akatt. S. 35) a woman cannot ride the "palmhorse", such offer to ride the *madal* is made by a lady in a song which she addressed to her Divine Lover, wherein after describing her own extreme passion towards Him, she declares she would ride the palm horse to make Him relent towards her. The classic examples would be the two *madal* songs the *periya-tiru-madal* and the *Siriya-tiru-madal* respectively occuring in the Vaishnava devotional texts sung by Saint Tirumangai Alwar.

84. குழவி மருங்கினுங் கிழவ தாகும்.

Towards even a child, it could be addressed.

This prescribes the *Pillai-t-tamil* variety of Tamil compositions in which a hero being a God or Godly

person is conceived of as a child and sung. A Goddess is also similarly praised in Pillai-t-tamil works. There are ten aspects in which such songs are worded. These are the invocation of blessings, *senkirai*, *tal*, *sappani*, *muttam*, *varanai*, *ampuli*, *siruparai*, *sirril* and *siruter*. *Senkirai* is the stage when the child lifts up its head, trembling like a leaf. *Tal* is its clasping together its hands and making a sound in delight. *Sappani* is when it crawls along and is able to sit upon its hips. *Muttam* is the solicitation of a kiss. *Varanai* is the stage when the child is able to move about dragging a wooden toy elephant. *Ampuli* is when the child is being shown the moon. *Siruparai* is the small drum beaten by the child. *Sirril* refers to the mischiefs of the young boy who goes about scatering the houses of sand built in by the girls in their play and he is entreated not to destroy them. *Siruter* is the toycart driven by children. These ten constitute the divisions of Pillai-t-tamil compositions sung on males. Almost the same sub-divisions are recognized in songs on heroines and goddesses. But instead of *siruter*, *sirril* and *siruparai* there will be *kalanku*, *ammanai* and *usal* songs. Of these *kalanku* would refer to the sport of maids with the (கழற்கொடிக் காய்) Bonduc nuts, *ammanai* to a similar play with wooden balls and *usal* to the sports of the swing. In these songs the ten several stages of a child from its third month after birth up to its twenty first month are singled out every alternate month generally for description taking for every stage, every alternate month, though in some cases the third, fifth and seventh years are fixed for the upper limit.

85. ஊரொடு தோற்றமு முரித்தென மொழிப.

Lovely appearance in the city, is also proper, they say.

This regularises the kind of verse, known as the *Ula* or the *procession* in Tamil. In this, the procession of a hero along the streets of a city and the effects of such a procession and the stirring of hearts evoked in the hearts of the demi-mondes of the city are described in due order. This song is written with seven sub-divisions, dependant on the different ages of woman. They are the *Pedai* age of girls between five and seven years, the *pedumbai* between eight and twelve, the *mangai* being a maid of thirteen summers, the *madantai* a youthful maid of between fourteen and nineteen years, the *arivai* a woman from nineteen to twentyfive, the *terivai*, a knowing lady of twentysix to thirtytwo autumns and the *perilampen*, a dame advanced in her womanly charms being between thirtytwo and forty years of age. Both Gods and mortal men are treated of as heroes in an *Ula.*

86. வழக்கொடு சிவணிய வகைமை யான.

They should strictly conform to ancient usage.

This section declares how there are certain fixed poetic conventions or usages which every new aspirant to poetic fame is bound to follow. Some of the poetic usages are, the nonmention of *madal* by a female except in devotional songs, the selection of the hetairæ alone as the dames that fall in love with a hero in an *ula*, the prescription of *siruparai*, *siruter*, and *sirril* to males alone and the *kalanku, ammanai* and *usal* to females alone in *Pillai-t-tamil* and the like.

This section is interesting to us as evidencing the growth of Tamil poetry in the days of Tolkappiar, when such highly evolved classic compositions as the *madal, Pillai-t-tamil*, and the *ula* seem to have been current.

87. மெய்ப்பெயர் மருங்கின் வைத்தனர் வழியே.

Along with proper names, the ancients use
Puram love.

In Akam songs (Tol. Akat. S. 54 & 55) it was held that the hero could not be referred to by his proper name. This verse affirms how in a Puram song, and especially in Patan verses which border on Kaikkilai or sulking themes, such names could be freely used. In such songs the practice is to mention the name of the hero, his country, its mountains, rivers and other characteristics in due order. Nacchinarkkiniar adduces as illustrations the songs occuring in the *kanalvarippattu* in Silappadhikaram, which I have already translated. [Vide. my Beach side song.]

88. கொடிநிலை கந்தழி வள்ளி யென்ற
வடுநீங்கு சிறப்பின் முதலன மூன்றுங்
கடவுள் வாழ்த்தொடு கண்ணிய வருமே.

The flagsong, irrepressible might, and
munificence
These three with spotless excellence endowed
Are sung with *salutation* to the deity interwoven.

This aphorism relates certain themes which might be interwoven with the song of salutations the be gods.

The flagsong— — munificence=This aphorism has been the Gordian knot of scholars for ages. This line has been variously interpreted by Nacchinarkkiniar, Ilampuranar, Iyanaritanar the author of *Purapporul Venbamalai* Peruntevanar, the commentator on Viracoliyam and Vaidyanatha Desika, the author of Ilakkana Vilakkam amongst the elder grammarians and the present-day Pandits.

The three expressions occuring in the text which require to be explained are *kodinilai*, *kandali*, and *valli*.

Of these *kodinilai* means the sun whose station is in the east (from *kodi*=East+*nilai*=station) according to Nacchinarkkiniar, the flagstate (from *kodi*=flag+*nilai*=state) describing the beauty and the excellence of the flag of the king, which in song, is compared to the flags of either Brahma or Vishnu or Śiva according to Ilampuranar and Iyanaritanar, the excellence of the flag taken amongst the flags of the kings of the earth according to Vaidyanatha Desikar, the quality of the flag according to Peruntevanar and rainbearing clouds because of their station in the east according to Mr. Raghava Iyengar. Of these, I am tempted to take this expression as referring to songs on the beauty and the excellence of the flag of the king as read into the characteristic of the God saluted, agreeably to the interpretations of Ilampuranar, Iyanaritanar and Vaidyanatha Desika, as coming specially within the province of Padan, which is eulogy on a particular person.

The second word is *kandali*. This means the supreme Godhead (from *kandu*=support+*ali*=destruction) the Being that transcends all others and is unsupported, being without form or colour, according to Nacchinarkkiniar, the praise uttered about the valour of Vishnu who destroyed the fortress of Sonitanagara, the capital of Banasura (from *kandu*=fortress+*ali*=destruction) according to Ilampuranar, Iyanaritanar and Vaidyanatha Desika, surprising excellence in war (from *kandu*=limit+*ali*=transcending)according to Peruntevanar and the glory of sages who have renounced the

passions (from *kandu*=bonds of passions or the flesh+*ali*) according to Mr. Raghava Iyengar. Of these I am tempted to take this to refer to the irrepressible might or surprising valour in war as read into the characteristic of the God saluted agreeably to the clue furnished by Peruntevanar. This interpretation is more suited to an eulogy directed towards describing a monarch's prowess and is consistent with the vein of interpretation adopted with regard to the first expression. If the first expression *kodinilai* refers to the King's flag, should not the second also refer in a similar way to the King's might? Of course the prowess of Vishnu dealt with in the songs adduced by commentators as illustrating this theme is a classic example of such irrepressible might. It would be idle to treat an illustration as a rule and say songs under this heading must always describe the destruction of Sonitanagara. If needed this reduction of Sonita might occur as a point of comparison in describing the prowess of a monarch.

The third expression is *valli*. This means the moon from *val*=the liberal bestower) as the unstinting rainer of nectar, according to Nacchinarkkiniar, the dance of females in honour of Muruga (from *valli*=the consort of Muruga,) the God of war according to Ilampuranar, Iyanaritanar and Vaidyanatha Desika, anything related to Lord Muruga according to Viracoliyam's commentator and the deity presiding over charity according to Mr. M. Raghava Iyengar. I am tempted to take this to mean munificence and liberality characterising the king as read into the characteristic of the God saluted as related to Padan, instead of inviting a deity to preside over it.

Thus the three themes mentioned in the text refer to three features or characteristics in a monarch, which are always praised whenever a salutation addressed to the Gods is sung and these are the attributes of his flag, prowess and liberality. The king's flag resembled those of the Gods. His prowess was superhuman. His liberality was lavish, like that of the ambrosial showerer. It must be remembered that in all descriptions of a king, it is his flag of protection, his sceptre of justice and his royal beneficence that are singled out for praise.

In this interpretation of mine, I am supported also by Saint Ilanko the author of Silappadhikaram, who at the beginning of his work salutes the moon, the sun, the rain, and the city of Pukar, into whose salutation, he weaves in the glory of the chola monarch. The songs are worth quoting here to render my standpoint clear. They run as follows :—

Let us salute the moon ! Let us salute the moon!
As, like the cool shade of fragrant—wreathed Chola's white parasol
He rains nectar unto the wide wide world in his unfailing bounty !

Let us salute the sun ! Let us salute the sun !
As, like the gold discus of Kaveri's lord, he goes round
The Meru mountain, resplendant with its golden peaks !

Let us salute the rains ! Let us salute the rains!
As, like the Chola's munificence unto the seagirt world
It pours its plenteous showers, fertilizing the worlds !

Thus it would be clear that the three expressions refer to gods in whom would be found the monarch's flagshade, prowess, and liberality.

These three — — interwoven = In the songs of salutation addressed to the gods, the three characteristics detailed above are skilfully woven. *i. e.*, the verse is avowedly addressed as salutation to Gods; but these features of the king will also be brought in suitably into it.

89. கொற்ற வள்ளை யோரிடத் தான.

Praise of prowess, singing enemy's ruin, is also allowed.

Korravallai is the *vallai* song which describes the prowess of the hero, by dwelling on his former exploits, the terrific nature of his march and the destruction and ruin with which he visited his foemen. Though the description of such march when recited contemporaneously would be *vanci,* yet if it is described with intent to praise the hero, long after these incidents had happened, as a matter of recital, it would be *padan* or eulogy. The conditions and incidents of war, such as cattle—lifting espionage, loot and the like, not being matters of occurrence with the Gods, only the siege and destruction of the forts of demons coming under *Ulignai* and the rest will be described.

90. கொடுப்போ ரேத்திக் கொடாஅர்ப் பழித்தலும்
அடுத்தூர்ந் தேத்திய வியன்மொழி வாழ்த்தும்
சேய்வரல் வருத்தம் வீட வாயில்
காவலர்க் குரைத்த கடைநிலை யானும்
கண்படை கண்ணிய கண்படை நிலையும்
கபிலை நண்ணிய வேள்வி நிலையும்
வேலி னோக்கிய விளக்கு நிலையும்

வாயுறை வாழ்த்துஞ் செவியறி வுறூஉவும்
ஆவயின் வரூஉம் புறநிலை வாழ்த்தும்
கைக்கிளை வகையோ டுளப்படத் தொகைஇத்
தொக்க நான்கு முளவென மொழிப.

Praising the liberal and reviling the niggardly.
Praising the hero by referring to his ancestral fame;
The Kadainilai in which coming from far off lands
The poet bids the guard announce his arrival to the king;
The night-song, bidding the king rest his eyelids;
The sacrificial song, when they gift away the brindle cow;
The song on the lance comparing it to steady lamps;
Sage counsel conducive to bliss and wholesome rebuke
And similarly blessings showered on him by bards;
And unilateral love; the former six reckoned together
The latter four states also added, are Padan they say.

This aphorism narrates ten out of the many themes that come under Padan.

Praising — — niggardly = The praising of people noted for their liberal gifts and the despisal of people who do not perform any act of charity assume three forms. A poet might simply without more extol his patron or he might abuse one who has not used him

kindly. Or again in a single song he might praise the one and revile at the other. Simple praise is had in the verse,

"Praising Pari in diverse strains
Him alone the poets with one accord sing!
Yet, Pari is not the sole protector of worlds!
There are the rains that sustain life!"
(Purananuru 107.)

Purananuru 196 is a verse in which Mulankilar of Avur departs homewards cursing the Pandian King Nanmaran who died at Ilavantikaippalli, as he did not care to bestow any reward on him. In Purananuru 127. Vel. Ay. comes in for a wholesome praise and he is contrasted with the niggardly rich. For sings Enicceri Mudamoci of Uraiyur,

"Having bestowed away his all, on bards with lutes
Black as the berry, his halls are empty; and his courtyards
Bereft of elephants, are filled with peacocks from forests
Roosting there with their herds full sad. A stillness
Hangs over all. His women disport not ornaments.
Save the marriage thread, Thus dimmed is Ay's palace they say.
But though the halls of such, as feed on tasty food
Rich with spices, they alone devour, not caring
To bestow any on the needy and earn their fulsome praise
Are rich and gaudy, could they in anywise compare with Ay's?"

Praising — — fame=This has reference to cases in which the poet is not satisfied with merely praising his patron for his many acts of liberality, but brings together the several deeds for which his ancestors were renowned and describes his whole race and family. This theme is called *Iyanmolivaltu* or blessing by describing the quality and nobility of the patron. This theme contemplates three modes of address. (1) Enumeration of hereditary and natural virtues. (2) Blessing. (3) Blessing accompanied by an enumeration of his ancestral and inherent virtues. Plenteous Illustrations are given by the commentators.

The Kadainilai — — king=This section contemplates the superior class of bards, who are worthy of being seated in the audience hall of the king and so worthy of being received by him in person. The lowly minstrels on the other hand, had to stay out beyond the gates and sound their instruments before announcing themselves. This shows how the poets found a ready welcome into the courts of monarchs. Indeed the author of *Porunararruppadai* in the *Pattuppattu* collection proudly says that he had no need to announce his arrival to the king, but could enter the hall straight-way. (Porunararruppadai. 67.) And the king too used to receive him at the gates, show him all hospitality, listen to him with respect, load him with costly gifts such as gold, silver and elephant, and then dismiss him most reverently following him behind to the distance of seven steps. (Ibid. line 116:) Such was the regard shown to scholars of old.

The nightsong — — eyelids=The songs of bards, which announced to the king, what all he was bound to do at the proper hours of the day and night. This

served as a gentle hint to the king reminding him of his routine Thus at day-break there was the morning song, informing the king that the whole world was awake and that he must also quit his couch. Then when the hour of bathing approached, the same was conveyed to him through the medium of a felicitous song. Similarly the hour of dinner, recreation, sport, noon-day siesta, and the hour of sleep at night had all to be announced to him. This subsection mentions the night-song by name but the theme contemplates all other songs of a similar informative nature.

The sacrificial — — brindle cow = A brindle cow was to be gifted away to a Brahmin in times of grave danger to the king himself or to his subjects and this theme refers to songs detailing such a practice. The section would embrace also other auspicious gifts bestowed away on such occasions, such as gift of lands, ornaments, clothes and also young brides.

The song — — lamps = Songs in praise of the king's lance, that it might soar bright and untarnished above the heads of enemies, shedding glorious light, like as lamps during the kartigai festival.

Sage counsel — — bliss = Wellmeant advice, that would conduce to the monarch's benefit though for the time being, it might be unpalatable like some potent medicinal pill. (cf. Tol. Porul. Seyyul. S. 424.)

The commentator Nacchinarkkiniar cites as example the verse.

"O Majestic prince! Are you indeed the mighty lord of forests
Amongst whose darkhued hillocks that look like wild buffaloes

Roam the elephants, as though they were so many
herds of cattle?
And since you are such, I have something
to tell you.
Avoiding the company of those, who scorning
kindness and love
Purchase for themselves eternal Hell, do you
by your rule
Protect your realms as one who would tend
a weakling child
Such protection is worthy of you! Such is
scarce to be had!
(Purananuru 5.)

Ilampuranar quotes

" If harvesting the ripened paddy, you spend it
little by little
Even the produce of a rood would last for
several days.
Though it be a hundred acres, if the elephant
enters the field
All alone, more would be trampled on than
enters its mouth.
If a wise monarch, raises taxes in a just
orderly way
His lands would yield crores and yet wax in
prosperity.
But when the monarch is possessed of an
enfeebled mind
And being surrounded by his flattering
courtiers daily
Desires the revenues grudgingly paid by his
disaffected realm,
Like as the acres, wherein lately an elephant
had entered

He neither would enjoy it himself, nor would
the world prosper!

(Purananuru 184.)

Wholesome rebuke=Songs in which the king is bidden disport himself with humility and reverence in the presence of the learned elders.

[cf. Tol. Porul. Seyyul. S. 426.]

And similar — — showered=And songs conveying blessings, addressed to the king, praying that the tutelary deities might protect him.

And unilateral love=Kaikkilai love, dwelt on by strangers would come under Patan of puram, the Akam kaikkilai songs being those addressed by the parties themselves concerned in it. In this Puram kaikkilai the poets and the elders undertake to win the love of the unfaithful party to his or her love, by addressing songs descriptive of the extreme devotion of their client lover The classic instance is that of Kannaki the wife of Vel Bakan, who being deserted by her husband, the poets, one and all interceded and pleaded for her with songs describing her greatness and succeeded finally in reconciling them each to the other.

It must be remembered that there were six things along with the saluation to the Gods, that were to be the contents of *Padan* (Vide S 81 supra.) Of them three were detailed in S. 88. The contents of the other topics are being treated of in this aphorism and the next.

91. தாவி னல்லிசை கருதிய கிடந்தோர்க்குச்
சூத ரேத்திய துயிலெடை நிலையும்
கூத்தரும் பாணரும் பொருநரும் விறலியு
ஆற்றிடைக் காட்சி யுறழத் தோன்றிப்

The *Suta* was the offspring of a Brahmin woman begotten by a Kshattriya and being on one side descended of a Brahmin parent was competent to bless the Kshattriya monarchs. It was believed that his blessings were unfailingly efficacious. He was therefore always stationed beside the monarch both in the palace and in the war camps. His duty was to wake the monarch with sweet auspicious songs praying for and affirming the king's prosperity. He was also the king's charioteer and when the king marched to the field of battle or serried forth for a hunt, he accompanied him thither. He was thus a constant attendant on kings.

The songs — — king=This has reference to songs placed in the lips of poets describing the glory of particular monarchs, in which the introducer gave a brother-poet, whom he chances to meet on the highway, an account of his patron who had lavished on him such costly gifts, described the way to his city, gave him a glowing account of his many virtues and finally bade him also repair to him and obtain similar presents. Such songs occur in *Pattuppattu* cf. Tirumurugarruppadai, Perumbanarruppadai, Sirupanarruppadai, Porunararruppadai, the Kuttararruppadai or Malaipadugadam and the many Arruppadai songs in Purananuru. Nacchinarkkiniar would split this into two, one having reference to gods and the other to men. The song Tirumurugarru-p-padai is an instance of the former.

The mighty — — peace=This refers to the birthday celebrations of the monarch. The rigour of the king on other days consists in punishing the wrongdoers, flinging them into prison and in dealing sentences of death. These he abandons on his birthday which is observed as a day of peace offering and performs instead virtuous acts such as the release of captives, pronouncing mercy on

the condemned, offering gifts to the worthy, exempting of taxes, manumission of slaves, conferring of honours and the like.

The celebrations — — coronation day = This is in importance next only to the birthday as having commenced at a later date, being dated only from the time of his accession to the throne. On this date also all the solemn ceremonies had on the birthday, will be observed.

The praise — — virtue = It is the sovereign that is responsible for the virtuous conduct of his people, since everything dedends on the nature of the protection offered by the king. Therefore the royal umbrella which signified protection used to be praised by poets cf. the salutation in Silappadhikaram :

" Let us salute the moon ! Let us salute the moon !
As like the cool shade of the fragrantwreathed
Chola's white parasol
He rains nectar unto the wide wide world in his
unfailing bounty !"

The praise — — foes = The glory of the king's sword, sung by the goblins who had feasted on the corpses in the battle field and by others. There might be an indirect attack against the foeman also in these songs.

The glory — — battlement = Whenever a fortress was captured, it was the custom of the Tamil monarchs to raze all the buildings to the ground, to have the ground ploughed with asses and then sow the soil with wild shrubs and plants. After this deed of destruction, the king had himself bathed with sacred medicinal waters.

The song — — bounty = These are the songs of the lowlier bards who were not permitted inside or of those others that did not choose to go in.

" In the hearth, high and crooked, which hath forgotten the cooking,

The lichen has grown plantiful. Suffering in
excruciating hunger.
Her breasts have fallen down like wrinkled skin
milkless
And her dry breast, wherein the nipple is
closed, the child
Suckling in vain, weeps out in distress.
Perceiving its misery
My wife sheds profuse tears which fill her
eyes and cling
To her eyelashes Noting her agony, I thought
of you
And betook myself to your presence ; O Kumana!
righteous warrior !
[Purananuru 194. ll. 1—8.]

is cited as an illustration.

And after — — way=After receiving the presents from the monarchs, the poet used to praise the quality of the gifts he had received and then either took leave himself or was dismissed by the patron. Thus is the twofold leavetaking.

And the ompatai — - weal=This has reference to cases, when the poets experiencing sight of strange phenomena or perceiving inauspicious conjunctions of stars and planets, their hearts are filled with much uneasiness and they pray to the gods entreating them to protect their patron, being afflicted with the thought that they portended some evil unto him. An instance of this occurs in Purananuru 229, wherein Kudalur kilar hearing of Ceral Irumporai's death weeps out saying that his worst fears all along had come true.

These — — future=These songs relate to things of the past, present and future. Thus in Purananuru 229 above adverted to, the poet perceives certain signs and is afraid, something untoward was going to happen in the near future. And when the king died, he realised that the prediction had come true

Thus are Patan themes described.